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ORATIONS

ORATIONS

FROM HOMER TO WILLIAM MCKINLEY

EDITED BY
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ORATIONS

we save the benched ships or behold them perish, if thou put not on thy might.

Nigh unto ships and wall have the high-hearted Trojans and famed allies pitched their camp, and kindled many fires throughout their host, and ween that they shall no more be withheld but will fall on our black ships. And Zeus son of Cronos showeth them signs upon the right by lightning, and Hector greatly exulteth in his might and rageth furiously, trusting in Zeus, and recketh not of god or man, for mighty madness hath possessed him. He prayeth bright Dawn to shine forth with all speed, for he hath passed his word to smite off from the ships the ensigns' tops, and to fire the hulls with devouring flame, and hard thereby to make havoc of the Achæans confounded by the smoke.

Therefore am I sore afraid in my heart lest the gods fulfil his boastings, and it be fated for us to perish here in Troy-land, far from Argos pasture-land of horses. Up then! if thou art minded even at the last to save the failing sons of the Achæans from the war-din of the Trojans. Thyself shalt have grief hereafter, and when the ill is done is there no way to find a cure therefor; in good time rather take thou thought to ward the evil day from the Danaans. Friend, surely to thee thy father Peleus gave commandment the day he sent thee to Agamemnon forth from Phthia: "My son, strength shall Athene and Hera give thee if they will; but do thou refrain thy proud soul in thy breast, for gentle-mindedness is the better part; and withdraw from mischievous strife, that so the Argives may honor thee the more, both young and old." Thus the old man charged thee, but thou forgettest.

Yet cease now at the last, and eschew thy grievous wrath; Agamemnon offereth thee worthy gifts, so thou wilt cease

from anger. Lo now, hearken thou to me, and I will tell thee all the gifts that in his hut Agamemnon promised thee: seven tripods untouched of fire, and ten talents of gold, and twenty gleaming caldrons, and twelve stalwart horses, winners in the race, that have taken prizes by their speed. No lackwealth were that man, neither undowered of precious gold, whose substance were as great as the prizes Agamemnon's steeds have borne him off. And seven women will he give, skilled in excellent handiwork, Lesbians whom he chose him from the spoils the day that thou thyself tookest Lesbos, surpassing womankind in beauty.

These will he give thee, and with them shall be she whom erst he took from thee, even the daughter of Briseus; moreover he will swear a great oath that never he went up into her bed nor had with her converse as is the wont of mankind, O king, even of men and women. All these things shall be set straightway before thee; and if hereafter the gods grant us to lay waste the great city of Priam, then enter thou in when we Achæans be dividing the spoil, and lade thy ship full of gold and bronze, and thyself choose twenty Trojan women, the fairest that there be after Helen of Argos. And if we win to the richest of lands, even Achæan Argos, thou shalt be his son and he will hold thee in like honor with Orestes, his stripling boy that is nurtured in all abundance. Three daughters are his in his well-builded hall, Chrysothemis and Laodike and Iphianassa; take thou of them which thou wilt, without gifts of wooing, to Peleus' house; and he will add a great dower such as no man ever yet gave with his daughter. And seven well-peopled cities will he give thee, Kardamyle and Enope and grassy Hire and holy Pherai and Antheia deep in meads, and fair Aipeia and Pedasos land of vines. And all are nigh to the sea, on the uttermost border of sandy

Pylos; therein dwell men abounding in flocks and kine, men that shall worship thee like a god with gifts, and beneath thy sway fulfil thy prosperous ordinances. All this will he accomplish so thou but cease from wrath. But and if Agamemnon be too hateful to thy heart, both he and his gifts, yet have thou pity on all the Achæans that faint throughout the host; these shall honor thee as a god, for verily thou wilt earn exceeding great glory at their hands. Yea now mightest thou slay Hector, for he would come very near thee in his deadly madness, because he deemeth that there is no man like unto him among the Danaans that the ships brought hither.

SPEECH OF ACHILLES

HEAVEN-SPRUNG son of Laertes, Odysseus of many wiles, in openness must I now declare unto you my saying, even as I am minded and as the fulfilment thereof shall be, that ye may not sit before me and coax this way and that. For hateful to me even as the gates of hell is he that hideth one thing in his heart and uttereth another; but I will speak what meseemeth best. Not me, I ween, shall Agamemnon son of Atreus persuade, nor the other Danaans, seeing we were to have no thank for battling with the foemen ever without respite. He that abideth at home hath equal share with him that fighteth his best; and in like honor are held both the coward and the brave; death cometh alike to the untoiling and to him that hath toiled long. Neither have I any profit for that I endured tribulation of soul, ever staking my life in fight. Even as a hen bringeth her unfledged chickens each morsel as she winneth it, and with herself it goeth hard, even so I was wont to watch out many a sleep-

less night and pass through many bloody days of battle, warring with folk for their women's sake.

Twelve cities of men have I laid waste from shipboard, and from land eleven, I do you to wit, throughout deep-soiled Troy-land; out of all these took I many goodly treasures and would bring and give them all to Agamemnon son of Atreus, and he staying behind amid the fleet ships would take them and portion out some few but keep the most. Now some he gave to be meeds of honor to the princes and the kings, and theirs are left untouched; only from me of all the Achæans took he my darling lady and keepeth her — let him sleep beside her and take his joy!

But why must the Argives make war on the Trojans? why hath Atreides gathered his host and led them hither? is it not for lovely-haired Helen's sake? Do then the sons of Atreus, alone of mortal men, love their wives? surely whatsoever man is good and sound of mind loveth his own and cherisheth her, even as I too loved mine with all my heart, though but the captive of my spear. But now that he hath taken my meed of honor from mine arms and hath deceived me, let him not tempt me that know him full well; he shall not prevail. Nay, Odysseus, let him take counsel with thee and all the princes to ward from the ships the consuming fire. Verily without mine aid he hath wrought many things, and built a wall and dug a foss about it wide and deep, and set a palisade therein; yet even so can he not stay murderous Hector's might.

But so long as I was fighting amid the Achæans, Hector had no mind to array his battle far from the wall, but scarce came unto the Scæan gates and to the oak-tree; there once he awaited me alone and scarce escaped my onset. But now, seeing I have no mind to fight with noble Hector, I will

to-morrow do sacrifice to Zeus and all the gods, and store well my ships when I have launched them on the salt sea; then shalt thou see, if thou wilt and hast any care therefor, my ships sailing at break of day over Hellespont, the fishes' home, and my men right eager at the oar; and if the great Shaker of the Earth grant me good journey, on the third day should I reach deep-soiled Phthia. There are my great possessions that I left when I came hither to my hurt; and yet more gold and ruddy bronze shall I bring from hence, and fair-girdled women and gray iron, all at least that were mine by lot; only my meed of honor hath he that gave it me taken back in his despitefulness, even lord Agamemnon son of Atreus. To him declare ye everything even as I charge you, openly, that all the Achæans likewise may have indignation, if haply he hopeth to beguile yet some other Danaan, for that he is ever clothed in shamelessness. Verily not in my face would he dare to look, though he have the front of a dog. Neither will I devise counsel with him nor any enterprise, for utterly he hath deceived me and done wickedly; but never again shall be beguile me with fair speech — let this suffice him. Let him begone in peace; Zeus the lord of counsel hath taken away his wits. Hateful to me are his gifts, and I hold him at a straw's worth. Not even if he gave me ten times, yea twenty, all that now is his, and all that may come to him otherwhence, even all the revenue of Orchomenos or Egyptian Thebes where the treasure-houses are stored fullest — Thebes of the hundred gates, whence sally forth two hundred warriors through each with horses and chariots — nay, nor gifts in number as sand or dust; not even so shall Agamemnon persuade my soul till he have paid me back all the bitter despite. And the daughter of Agamemnon son of Atreus will I not wed, not

were she rival of golden Aphrodite for fairness, and for handiwork matched bright-eyed Athene,—not even then will I wed her; let him choose him of the Achæans another that is his peer and is more royal than I.

For if the gods indeed preserve me and I come unto my home, then will Peleus himself seek me a wife. Many Achæan maidens are there throughout Hellas and Phthia, daughters of princes that ward their cities; whomsoever of these I wish will I make my dear lady. Very often was my high soul moved to take me there a wedded wife, a help meet for me, and have joy of the possessions that the old man Peleus possesseth. For not of like worth with life hold I even all the wealth that men say was possessed of the well-peopled city of Ilios in days of peace gone by, before the sons of the Achæans came; neither all the treasure that the stone threshold of the archer Phœbus Apollo encompasseth in rocky Pytho. For kine and goodly flocks are to be had for the harrying, and tripods and chestnut horses for the purchasing; but to bring back man's life neither harrying nor earning availeth when once it hath passed the barrier of his lips.

For thus my goddess mother telleth me, Thetis the silver-footed, that twain fates are bearing me to the issue of death. If I abide here and besiege the Trojans' city, then my returning home is taken from me, but my fame shall be imperishable; but if I go home to my dear native land, my high fame is taken from me, but my life shall endure long while, neither shall the issue of death soon reach me.

Moreover I would counsel you all to set sail homeward, seeing ye shall never reach your goal of steep Ilios; of a surety far-seeing Zeus holdeth his hand over her and her folk are of good courage. So go your way and tell my

answer to the princes of the Achæans, even as is the office of elders, that they may devise in their hearts some other better counsel, such as shall save them their ships and the host of the Achæans amid the hollow ships: since this counsel availeth them naught that they have now devised, by reason of my fierce wrath. But let Phoinix now abide with us and lay him to rest, that he may follow with me on my ships to our dear native land to-morrow, if he will; for I will not take him perforce.

SPEECH OF PHOINIX

IF indeed thou ponderest departure in thy heart, glorious Achilles, and hast no mind at all to save the fleet ships from consuming fire, because that wrath hath entered into thy heart; how can I be left of thee, dear son, alone thereafter? To thee did the old knight Peleus send me the day he sent thee to Agamemnon forth from Phthia, a stripling yet unskilled in equal war and in debate wherein men wax preeminent. Therefore sent he me to teach thee all these things, to be both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds. So would I not be left alone of thee, dear son, not even if god himself should take on him to strip my years from me, and make me fresh and young as in the day when first I left Hellas the home of fair women, fleeing from strife against my father Amyntor son of Ormenos: for he was sore angered with me by reason of his lovely-haired concubine, whom he ever cherished and wronged his wife my mother. So she besought me continually by my knees to go in first unto the concubine, that the old man might be hateful to her. I hearkened to her and did the deed; but my sire was ware thereof forthwith and cursed me mightily, and called the dire

Erinnys to look that never should any dear son sprung of my body sit upon my knees: and the gods fulfilled his curse, even Zeus of the under-world and dread Persephone. [Then took I counsel to slay him with the keen sword; but some immortal stayed mine anger, bringing to my mind the people's voice and all the reproaches of men, lest I should be called a father-slayer amid the Achæans.] Then would my soul no more be refrained at all within my breast to tarry in the halls of mine angered father.

Now my fellows and my kinsmen came about me with many prayers, and refrained me there within the halls, and slaughtered many goodly sheep and shambling kine with crooked horns; and many swine rich with fat were stretched to singe over the flames of Hephæstus, and wine from that old man's jars was drunken without stint. Nine nights long slept they all night around my body; they kept watch in turn, neither were the fires quenched, one beneath the colonnade of the fenced courtyard and another in the porch before the chamber doors.

But when the tenth dark night was come upon me, then burst I my cunningly fitted chamber doors, and issued forth and overleapt the courtyard fence lightly, unmarked of watchmen and handmaidens. Then fled I far through Hellas of wide lawns, and came to deep-soiled Phthia, mother of flocks, even unto king Peleus; and he received me kindly and cherished me as a father cherisheth his only son, his stripling heir of great possessions; and he made me rich and gave much people to me, and I dwelt in the uttermost part of Phthia and was king over the Dolopians.

Yea, I reared thee to this greatness, thou godlike Achilles, with my heart's love; for with none other wouldest thou go unto the feast, neither take meat in the hall, till that I had set

thee upon my knees and stayed thee with the savory morsel cut first for thee, and put the wine-cup to thy lips. Oft hast thou stained the doublet on my breast with sputtering of wine in thy sorry helplessness.

Thus I suffered much with thee and much I toiled, being mindful that the gods in no wise created any issue of my body; but I made thee my son, thou godlike Achilles, that thou mayest yet save me from grievous destruction. Therefore, Achilles, rule thy high spirit; neither beseemeth it thee to have a ruthless heart. Nay, even the very gods can bend, and theirs withal is loftier majesty and honor and might. Their hearts by incense and reverent vows and drink-offering and burnt-offering men turn with prayer, so oft as any transgresseth and doeth sin.

Moreover prayers of penitence are daughters of great Zeus, halting and wrinkled and of eyes askance, that have their task withal to go in the steps of sin. For sin is strong and fleet of foot, wherefore she far outrunneth all prayers, and goeth before them over all the earth, making men fall, and prayers follow behind to heal the harm.

Now whosoever reverenceth Zeus' daughters when they draw near, him they greatly bless and hear his petitions; but when one denieth them and stiffly refuseth, then depart they and make prayer unto Zeus the son of Cronos that sin may come upon such an one, that he may fall and pay the price. Nay, Achilles, look thou too that there attend upon the daughters of Zeus the reverence that bendeth the heart of all men that be right-minded. For if Atreides brought thee not gifts and foretold thee not more hereafter, but were ever furiously wroth, then I were not he that should bid thee cast aside thine anger and save the Argives, even in their sore need of thee. But now he both offered thee forthwith many

gifts, and promiseth thee more hereafter, and hath sent heroes to beseech thee, the best men chosen throughout the host of the Achæans and that to thyself are dearest of the Argives; dishonor not thou their petition nor their journey hither; though erst it were no wrong that thou wast wroth. Even in like manner have we heard the fame of those heroes that were of old, as oft as furious anger came on any; they might be won by gifts and prevailed upon by speech.

This tale have I in mind of old time and not of yesterday, even as it was; and I will tell it among you that all are friends. The Curetes fought and the staunch Ætolians about the city of Calydon, and slew one another, the Ætolians defending lovely Calydon, the Curetes eager to lay it waste in war. For Artemis of the golden throne had brought a plague upon them, in wrath that Œneus offered her not the harvest first-fruits on the fat of his garden land; for all the other gods had their feast of hecatombs, and only to the daughter of great Zeus offered he not, whether he forgat or marked it not; and therein sinned he sore in his heart.

So the Archer-goddess was wroth and sent against him a creature of heaven, a fierce wild boar, white-tusked, that wrought sore ill continually on Œneus' garden land; many a tall tree laid he low utterly, even root and apple blossom therewith. But him slew Meleagrus the son of Œneus, having gathered together from many cities huntsmen and hounds; for not of few men could the boar be slain, so mighty was he; and many an one brought he to the grievous pyre.

But the goddess made much turmoil over him and tumult concerning the boar's head and shaggy hide, between the Curetes and great-hearted Ætolians. Now so long as Meleagrus dear to Ares fought, so long it went ill with the Curetes, neither dared they face him without their city walls, for

all they were very many. But when Meleagrus grew full of wrath, such as swelleth the hearts of others likewise in their breasts, though they be wise of mind, then in anger of heart at his dear mother Althæa he tarried beside his wedded wife, fair Cleopatra, daughter of Marpessa fair-ankled daughter of Euenus, and of Ides that was strongest of men that were then upon the earth; he it was that took the bow to face the king Phœbus Apollo for sake of the fair-ankled damsel. And she was called Alcyone of her father and lady mother by surname in their hall, because her mother in the plight of the plaintive halcyon-bird wept when the far-darter Phœbus Apollo snatched her away.

By her side lay Meleagrus, brooding on his grievous anger, being wroth by reason of his mother's curses: for she, grieved for her brethren's death, prayed instantly to the gods, and with her hands likewise beat instantly upon the fertile earth, calling on Hades and dread Persephone, while she knelt upon her knees and made her bosom wet with tears, to bring her son to death; and Erinnys that walketh in darkness, whose heart knoweth not ruth, heard her from Erebus.

Now was the din of foemen about their gates quickly risen, and a noise of battering of towers; and the elders of the Ætolians sent the best of the gods' priests and besought him to come forth and save them, with promise of a mighty gift; to wit, they bade him, where the plain of lovely Calydon was fattest, to choose him out a fair demesne of fifty plow-gates, the half thereof vine-land and the half open plow-land, to be cut from out the plain.

And old knightly Œneus prayed him instantly, and stood upon the threshold of his high-roofed chamber, and shook the morticed doors to beseech his son; him too his sisters and his lady mother prayed instantly — but he denied them

yet more; instantly too his comrades prayed, that were nearest him and dearest of all men. Yet even so persuaded they not his heart within his breast, until his chamber was now hotly battered and the Curetes were climbing upon the towers and firing the great city. Then did his fair-girdled wife pray Meleagrus with lamentation, and told him all the woes that come on men whose city is taken; the warriors are slain, and the city is wasted of fire, and the children and the deep-girdled women are led captive of strangers.

And his soul was stirred to hear the grievous tale, and he went his way and donned his glittering armor. So he saved the Ætolians from the evil day, obeying his own will; but they paid him not now the gifts many and gracious; yet nevertheless he drave away destruction. But be not thine heart thus minded, neither let heaven so guide thee, dear son; that were a hard thing, to save the ships already burning. Nay, come for the gifts; the Achæans shall honor thee even as a god. But if without gifts thou enter into battle the bane of men, thou wilt not be held in like honor, even though thou avert the fray.

[Translated from the *Iliad* by Walter Leaf Litt.D.]

PERICLES

PERICLES, one of the foremost of Athenian orators, and, unquestionably, the greatest of Athenian statesmen, was the son of Xantippus, who commanded the Greeks at the Battle of Mycale, B.C. 379. On his mother's side he was a grandnephew of Clisthenes, who reformed the democracy at Athens after the expulsion of the sons of Pisistratus; he was thus connected both with the old princely line of Sicyon and with the great but unfortunate house of the Alcmæonidæ. The date of his birth is unknown, but he grew up amid the stirring times of the Persian War. He received the best education which the age could supply. From the philosopher Anaxagoras he is thought to have acquired the intellectual breadth, the elevated tone and the superiority to superstitions by which he was distinguished. In his personal appearance he bore a striking resemblance to Pisistratus, and he possessed a grandeur of manner which, even more than his eloquence, gained for him the name of the Olympian Zeus. His rise to power must be attributed conjointly to his wisdom and to his oratory. His public speeches were fraught with extraordinary power, coupled with artistic finish. The range and compass of his rhetoric were wonderful, and even the contemporary writers of comedies who disliked him spoke of his eloquence with admiration. Three of his speeches are reported by Thucydides, and the one which we here reproduce, a funeral oration, delivered in honor of the Athenians who first fell in the Peloponnesian War, is probably a close report of what Pericles actually uttered. His first public appearance seems to have been made about B.C. 463. He came forward as the champion of the Democratic or Progressive party, in opposition to Timon, the leader of the Aristocratic or Conservative party. After Timon's death he virtually guided the destinies of Athens alone. It was probably he who suggested the transference of the treasury of the league against Persia from Belos to Athens which converted the Athenian headship into an empire; at all events, he managed the fund after its transfer. It was he who introduced the payment of jurymen, and also the payment of citizens for military services. Vast sums were spent by him in adorning the city with the memorable buildings which made it the wonder of the world. Among these were the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the Propylæa or Vestibule to the Acropolis, and the Odéon or music hall. It is also probably by his advice that the Long Walls were built, which, connecting Athens with the Piræus, converted Athens and its seaport into one vast fortress. Moreover, in order to train the Athenians in seamanship, he kept a fleet of sixty ships at sea eight months out of every year. The cost of all these things was defrayed by the

annual tribute levied on the members of the Athenian Confederacy. It is not true that the Peloponnesian War was brought about by Pericles for the purpose of avoiding a prosecution. That war was inevitable, being due to Sparta's jealousy of the growing power of Athens. He did, however, advise the Athenians to reject Sparta's demand that Athens should renounce her empire, and he added the wise counsel that they should confine their land operations to the defence of their own city, and should attack the Peloponnesians by sea. Unfortunately for the Peloponnesians, he died in B.C. 429. Had he lived, the Peloponnesian War would probably have had a different conclusion; at all events, the calamitous expedition against Sicily would never have been undertaken.

FUNERAL ORATION ON THE ATHENIANS WHO FIRST FELL IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

THE greater part of those who ere now have spoken in this place, have been accustomed to praise the man who introduced this oration into the law; considering it a right thing that it should be delivered over those who are buried after falling in battle. To me, however, it would have appeared sufficient, that when men had shown themselves brave by deeds, their honors also should be displayed by deeds—as you now see in the case of this burial, prepared at the public expense—and not that the virtues of many should be perilled in one individual, for credit to be given him according as he expresses himself well or ill. For it is difficult to speak with propriety on a subject on which even the impression of one's truthfulness is with difficulty established. For the hearer who is acquainted [with the facts], and kindly disposed [toward those who performed them], might perhaps think them somewhat imperfectly set forth, compared with what he both wishes and knows; while he who is unacquainted with them might think that some points were even exaggerated, being led to this conclusion by envy, should he hear anything surpassing his own natural

powers. For praises spoken of others are only endured so far as each one thinks that he is himself also capable of doing any of the things he hears; but that which exceeds their own capacity men at once envy and disbelieve. Since, however, our ancestors judged this to be a right custom, I too, in obedience to the law, must endeavor to meet the wishes and views of every one, as far as possible.

I will begin then with our ancestors first: for it is just, and becoming too at the same time, that on such an occasion the honor of being thus mentioned should be paid them. For always inhabiting the country without change, through a long succession of posterity, by their valor they transmitted it free to this very time. Justly then may they claim to be commended; and more justly still may our own fathers. For in addition to what they inherited, they acquired the great empire which we possess, and by painful exertions bequeathed it to us of the present day: though to most part of it have additions been made by ourselves here, who are still, generally speaking, in the vigor of life; and we have furnished our city with everything, so as to be most self-sufficient both for peace and for war. Now with regard to our military achievements, by which each possession was gained, whether in any case it were ourselves, or our fathers, that repelled with spirit hostilities brought against us by barbarian or Greek; as I do not wish to enlarge on the subject before you who are well acquainted with it, I will pass them over. But by what a mode of life we attained to our power, and by what form of government and owing to what habits it became so great, I will explain these points first, and then proceed to the eulogy of these men; as I consider that on the present occasion they will not be inappropriately mentioned, and that it is profitable

for the whole assembly, both citizens and strangers, to listen to them.

For we enjoy a form of government which does not copy the laws of our neighbors; but we are ourselves rather a pattern to others than imitators of them. In name, from its not being administered for the benefit of the few, but of the many, it is called a democracy; but with regard to its laws, all enjoy equality, as concerns their private differences; while with regard to public rank, according as each man has reputation for anything, he is preferred for public honors, not so much from consideration of party, as of merit; nor, again, on the ground of poverty, while he is able to do the state any good service, is he prevented by the obscurity of his position. We are liberal then in our public administration; and with regard to mutual jealousy of our daily pursuits, we are not angry with our neighbor, if he does anything to please himself; nor wear on our countenance offensive looks, which, though harmless, are yet unpleasant. While, however, in private matters we live together agreeably, in public matters, under the influence of fear, we most carefully abstain from transgression, through our obedience to those who are from time to time in office, and to the laws; especially such of them as are enacted for the benefit of the injured, and such as, though unwritten, bring acknowledged disgrace [on those who break them].

Moreover, we have provided for our spirits the most numerous recreations from labors, by celebrating games and sacrifices through the whole year, and by maintaining elegant private establishments, of which the daily gratification drives away sadness. Owing to the greatness too of our city, everything from every land is imported into it; and it is our lot to reap with no more peculiar enjoyment

the good things which are produced here, than those of the rest of the world likewise.

In the studies of war also we differ from our enemies in the following respects. We throw our city open to all, and never, by the expulsion of strangers, exclude any one from either learning or observing things, by seeing which unconcealed any of our enemies might gain an advantage; for we trust not so much to preparations and stratagems as to our own valor for daring deeds. Again, as to our modes of education, *they* aim at the acquisition of a manly character, by laborious training from their very youth; while *we*, though living at our ease, no less boldly advance to meet equal dangers. As a proof of this, the Lacedæmonians never march against our country singly, but with all [their confederates] together: while we, generally speaking, have no difficulty in conquering in battle upon hostile ground those who are standing up in defence of their own. And no enemy ever yet encountered our whole united force, through our attending at the same time to our navy, and sending our troops by land on so many different services: but wherever they have engaged with any part of it, if they conquer only some of us, they boast that we were all routed by them; and if they are conquered, they say it was by all that they were beaten. And yet if with careless ease rather than with laborious practice, and with a courage which is the result not so much of laws as of natural disposition, we are willing to face danger, we have the advantage of not suffering beforehand from coming troubles, and of proving ourselves, when we are involved in them, no less bold than those who are always toiling; so that our country is worthy of admiration in these respects, and in others besides.

For we study taste with economy, and philosophy with-

out effeminacy; and employ wealth rather for opportunity of action than for boastfulness of talking; while poverty is nothing disgraceful for a man to confess, but not to escape it by exertion is more disgraceful. Again, the same men can attend at the same time to domestic as well as to public affairs; and others, who are engaged with business, can still form a sufficient judgment on political questions. For we are the only people that consider the man who takes no part in these things, not as unofficious, but as useless; and we ourselves judge rightly of measures, at any rate, if we do not originate them; while we do not regard words as any hindrance to deeds, but rather [consider it a hindrance] not to have been previously instructed by word, before undertaking in deed what we have to do. For we have this characteristic also in a remarkable degree, that we are at the same time most daring and most calculating in what we take in hand; whereas to other men it is ignorance that brings daring, while calculation brings fear. Those, however, would deservedly be deemed most courageous, who know most fully what is terrible and what is pleasant, and yet do not on this account shrink from dangers. As regards beneficence also we differ from the generality of men; for we make friends, not by receiving, but by conferring kindness. Now he who has conferred the favor is the firmer friend, in order that he may keep alive the obligation by good will toward the man on whom he has conferred it; whereas he who owes it in return feels less keenly, knowing that it is not as a favor, but as a debt, that he will repay the kindness. Nay, we are the only men who fearlessly benefit any one, not so much from calculations of expediency, as with the confidence of liberality.

In short, I say that both the whole city is a school for

Greece, and that, in my opinion, the same individual would among us prove himself qualified for the most varied kinds of action, and with the most graceful versatility. And that this is not mere vaunting language for the occasion, so much as actual truth, the very power of the state, which we have won by such habits, affords a proof. For it is the only country at the present time that, when brought to the test, proves superior to its fame; and the only one that neither gives to the enemy who has attacked us any cause for indignation at being worsted by such opponents, nor to him who is subject to us room for finding fault, as not being ruled by men who are worthy of empire. But we shall be admired both by present and future generations as having exhibited our power with great proofs, and by no means without evidence; and as having no further need, either of Homer to praise us, or any one else who might charm for the moment by his verses, while the truth of the facts would mar the idea formed of them; but as having compelled every sea and land to become accessible to our daring, and everywhere established everlasting records, whether of evil or of good. It was for such a country then that these men, nobly resolving not to have it taken from them, fell fighting; and every one of their survivors may well be willing to suffer in its behalf.

For this reason, indeed, it is that I have enlarged on the characteristics of the state; both to prove that the struggle is not for the same object in our case as in that of men who have none of these advantages in an equal degree; and at the same time clearly to establish by proofs [the truth of] the eulogy of those men over whom I am now speaking. And now the chief points of it have been mentioned; for with regard to the things for which I have

commended the city, it was the virtues of these men, and such as these, that adorned her with them; and few of the Greeks are there whose fame, like these men's, would appear but the just counterpoise of their deeds. Again, the closing scene of these men appears to me to supply an illustration of human worth, whether as affording us the first information respecting it, or its final confirmation. For even in the case of men who have been in other respects of an inferior character, it is but fair for them to hold forth as a screen their military courage in their country's behalf; for, having wiped out their evil by their good, they did more service collectively, than harm by their individual offences. But of these men there was none that either was made a coward by his wealth, from preferring the continued enjoyment of it; or shrank from danger through a hope suggested by poverty, namely, that he might yet escape it, and grow rich; but conceiving that vengeance on their foes was more to be desired than these objects, and at the same time regarding this as the most glorious of hazards, they wished by risking it to be avenged on their enemies, and so to aim at procuring those advantages; committing to hope the uncertainty of success, but resolving to trust to action, with regard to what was visible to themselves; and in that action, being minded rather to resist and die, than by surrendering to escape, they fled from the shame of [a discreditable] report, while they endured the brunt of the battle with their bodies; and after the shortest crisis, when at the very height of their fortune, were taken away from their glory rather than their fear.

Such did these men prove themselves, as became the character of their country. For you that remain, you must

pray that you may have a more successful resolution, but must determine not to have one less bold against your enemies; not in word alone considering the benefit [of such a spirit] (on which one might descant to you at great length—though you know it yourselves quite as well —telling you how many advantages are contained in repelling your foes); but rather day by day beholding the power of the city as it appears in fact, and growing enamored of it, and reflecting, when you think it great, that it was by being bold, and knowing their duty, and being alive to shame in action, that men acquired these things; and because, if they ever failed in their attempt at anything, they did not on that account think it right to deprive their country also of their valor, but conferred upon her a most glorious joint-offering. For while collectively they gave her their lives, individually they received that renown which never grows old, and the most distinguished tomb they could have; not so much that in which they are laid, as that in which their glory is left behind them, to be everlastingly recorded on every occasion for doing so, either by word or deed, that may from time to time present itself. For of illustrious men the whole earth is the sepulchre; and not only does the inscription upon columns in their own land point it out, but in that also which is not their own there dwells with every one an unwritten memorial of the heart, rather than of a material monument. Vying then with these men in your turn, and deeming happiness to consist in freedom, and freedom in valor, do not think lightly of the hazards of war. For it is not the unfortunate [and those] who have no hope of any good, that would with most reason be unsparing of their lives; but those who, while they

live, still incur the risk of a change to the opposite condition, and to whom the difference would be the greatest, should they meet with any reverse. For more grievous, to a man of high spirit at least, is the misery which accompanies cowardice, than the unfelt death which comes upon him at once, in the time of his strength and of his hope for the common welfare.

Wherefore to the parents of the dead—as many of them as are here among you—I will not offer condolence, so much as consolation. For they know that they have been brought up subject to manifold misfortunes; but that happy is *their* lot who have gained the most glorious—death, as these have—sorrow, as you have; and to whom life has been so exactly measured, that they were both happy in it, and died in [that happiness]. Difficult, indeed, I know it is to persuade you of this, with regard to those of whom you will often be reminded by the good fortune of others, in which you yourselves also once rejoiced; and sorrow is felt, not for the blessings of which one is bereft without full experience of them, but of that which one loses after becoming accustomed to it. But you must bear up in the hope of other children, those of you whose age yet allows you to have them. For to yourselves individually those who are subsequently born will be a reason for your forgetting those who are no more; and to the state it will be beneficial in two ways, by its not being depopulated, and by the enjoyment of security; for it is not possible that those should offer any fair and just advice, who do not incur equal risk with their neighbors by having children at stake. Those of you, however, who are past that age, must consider that the longer period of your life during which you have been prosperous is so

much gain, and that what remains will be but a short one; and you must cheer yourselves with the fair fame of these [your lost ones]. For the love of honor is the only feeling that never grows old; and in the helplessness of age it is not the acquisition of gain, as some assert, that gives greatest pleasure, but the enjoyment of honor.

For those of you, on the other hand, who are sons or brothers of the dead, great, I see, will be the struggle of competition. For every one is accustomed to praise the man who is no more; and scarcely, though even for an excess of worth, would you be esteemed, I do not say equal to them, but only slightly inferior. For the living are exposed to envy in their rivalry; but those who are in no one's way are honored with a good will free from all opposition. If, again, I must say anything on the subject of woman's excellence also, with reference to those of you who will now be in widowhood, I will express it all in a brief exhortation. Great will be your glory in not falling short of the natural character that belongs to you; and great is hers, who is least talked of among the men, either for good or evil.

I have now expressed *in word*, as the law required, what I had to say befitting the occasion; and, *in deed*, those who are here interred, have already received part of their honors; while, for the remaining part, the state will bring up their sons at the public expense, from this time to their manhood; thus offering both to these and to their posterity a beneficial reward for such contests; for where the greatest prizes for virtue are given, there also the most virtuous men are found among the citizens. And now, having finished your lamentations for your several relatives, depart.

SPEECH AGAINST THE DEMANDS OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS

[The Lacedæmonians, being desirous of provoking war with the Athenians, made many unreasonable demands upon them as a condition of preserving peace. In the following speech Pericles advises the Athenians to go to war rather than to yield to the humiliating terms of their enemies.]

ATHENIANS, I say, as I always have said, that we must never yield to the Peloponnesians, although I know that men are persuaded to go to war in one temper of mind, and act, when the time comes, in another, and that their resolutions change with the changes of fortune. But I see that I must give you the same, or nearly the same, advice which I gave before, and I call upon those whom my words may convince to maintain our united determination, even if we should not escape disaster; or else, if our sagacity be justified by success, to claim no share of the credit. The movement of events is often as wayward and incomprehensible as the course of human thought; and this is why we ascribe to chance whatever belies our calculation.

For some time past the designs of the Lacedæmonians have been clear enough, and they are still clearer now. The treaty says that when differences arise the two parties shall refer them to arbitration, and in the meantime both are to retain what they have. But for arbitration they never ask, and when it is offered by us they refuse it. They want to redress their grievances by arms and not by argument; and now they come to us, using the language, no longer of expostulation, but of command. They tell us to quit Potidæa, to leave Ægina independent, and to rescind the decree respecting the Megarians. These last ambassadors go further still and announce that we must give the Hellenes independence. I would have none of you imagine that we will be fighting for a small matter if we refuse to annul the Megarian decree, of

which they make so much, telling us that its revocation would prevent the war. You should have no lingering uneasiness about this; you are not really going to war for a trifle. For in the seeming trifle is involved the trial and confirmation of your whole purpose. If you yield to them in a small matter, they will think that you are afraid, and will immediately dictate some more oppressive condition; but if you are firm you will prove to them that they must treat you as their equals. Wherefore, make up your minds once for all, either to give way while you are still unharmed, or, if we are going to war, as in my judgment is best, then on no plea, small or great, to give way at all; we will not condescend to possess our own in fear. Any claim, the smallest as well as the greatest, imposed on a neighbor and an equal when there has been no legal award, can mean nothing but slavery.

That our resources are equal to theirs, and that we shall be as strong in the war, I will now prove to you in detail. The Peloponnesians cultivate their own soil, and they have no wealth, either public or private. Nor have they any experience of long wars in countries beyond the sea; their poverty prevents them from fighting, except in person against each other, and that for a short time only. Such men cannot be often manning fleets or sending out armies. They would be at a distance from their own properties, upon which they must nevertheless draw, and they will be kept off the sea by us. Now wars are supported out of accumulated wealth, and not out of forced contributions. And men who cultivate their own lands are more ready to serve with their persons than with their property; they do not despair of their lives, but they soon grow anxious lest their money should all be spent, especially if the war in which they are engaged is protracted beyond their calculation, as may well be the case. In a single pitched

battle the Peloponnesians and their allies are a match for all Hellas, but they are not able to maintain a war against a power different in kind from their own; they have no regular general assembly, and therefore cannot execute their plans with speed and decision. The confederacy is made up of many races; all the representatives have equal votes and press their several interests. There follows the usual result, that nothing is ever done properly. For some are all anxiety to be revenged on the enemy, while others only want to save their money. The members of such a confederacy are slow to meet, and when they do meet they give little time to the consideration of any common interest, and a great deal to schemes which further the interests of their particular state. Every one fancies that his own neglect will do no harm, but that it is somebody else's business to keep a look-out for him, and this idea, cherished alike by each, is the secret ruin of all.

Their greatest difficulty will be want of money, which they can only provide slowly; delay will thus occur, and war waits for no man. Further, no fortified place which they can raise against us is to be feared any more than their navy. As to the first, even in time of peace it would be hard for them to build a city able to compete with Athens; and how much more so when they are in an enemy's country, and our walls will be a menace to them quite as much as theirs to us! Or, again, if they simply raise a fort in our territory, they may do mischief to some part of our lands by sallies, and the slaves may desert to them; but that will not prevent us from sailing to the Peloponnese and there raising forts against them, and in other ways by the help of our navy, which is our strong arm, retaliating upon them. For we have gained more experience of fighting on land from warfare at sea than they of naval affairs from warfare on land. And they will not easily acquire nau-

tical skill; even you yourselves, who have been practising ever since the Persian War, are not yet perfect. How can they, who are not sailors, but tillers of the soil, do much? They will not even be permitted to practise, because a large fleet will constantly be lying in wait for them. If they were watched by a few ships only, they might run the risk, trusting to their numbers and forgetting their inexperience; but if they are kept off the sea by our superior strength their want of practice will make them unskilful, and their want of skill timid. Maritime skill is like skill of other kinds, not a thing to be cultivated by the way or at chance times; it is jealous of any other pursuit which distracts the mind for an instant from itself.

Suppose, again, that they lay hands on the treasures at Olympia and Delphi, and tempt our mercenary sailors with the offer of higher pay, there might be serious danger if we and our metics embarking alone were not still a match for them. But we are a match for them: and, best of all, our pilots are taken from our own citizens, while no sailors are to be found so good or so numerous as ours in all the rest of Hellas. No mercenary will choose to fight on their side for the sake of a few days' high pay, when he will not only be an exile, but will incur greater danger and will have less hope of victory.

Such I conceive to be the prospects of the Peloponnesians. But we ourselves are free from the defects which I have noted in them and we have great advantages. If they attack our country by land, we shall attack theirs by sea; and the devastation, even of part of Peloponnesus, will be a very different thing from that of all Attica. For they, if they want fresh territory, must take it by arms, whereas we have abundance of land both in the islands and on the continent; such is the

power which the empire of the sea gives. Reflect, if we were islanders, who would be more invulnerable? Let us imagine that we are, and acting in that spirit let us give up lands and houses, but keep a watch over the city and the sea. We should not, under any irritation at the loss of our property, give battle to the Peloponnesians, who far outnumber us. If we conquer, we shall have to fight over again with as many more; and if we fail, besides the defeat, our confederacy, which is our strength, will be lost to us; for our allies will rise in revolt when we are no longer capable of making war upon them. Mourn not for houses and lands, but for men; men may gain these, but these will not gain men. If I thought that you would listen to me, I would say to you, "Go yourselves and destroy them, and thereby prove to the Peloponnesians that none of these things will move you."

I have many other reasons for believing that you will conquer, but you must not be extending your empire while you are at war, or run into unnecessary dangers. I am more afraid of our own mistakes than of our enemies' designs. But of all this I will speak again when the time of action comes; for the present, let us send the ambassadors away, giving them this answer: "That we will not exclude the Megarians from our markets and harbors if the Lacedæmonians will not exclude foreigners, whether ourselves or our allies, from Sparta; for the treaty no more forbids the one than the other. That we will concede independence to the cities, if they were independent when we made the treaty, and as soon as the Lacedæmonians allow their subject states to be governed as they choose, not for the interest of Lacedæmon, but for their own. Also, that we are willing to offer arbitration according to the treaty, and that we do not want to begin war, but intend to defend ourselves if attacked." This answer will be just,

and befits the dignity of the city. We must be aware, however, that war will come; and the more willing we are to accept the situation, the less ready will our enemies be to lay hands upon us. Remember that where dangers are greatest, there the greatest honors are to be won by men and states. Our fathers, when they withstood the Persian, had no such empire as we have; what little they had they forsook: not by good fortune but by wisdom, and not by power but by courage, they repelled the barbarian and raised us to our present height of greatness. We must be worthy of them, and resist our enemies with all our might, that we may hand down our empire unimpaired to posterity.

DEFENCE OF HIS POLICY

[After the second Peloponnesian invasion, when the Athenians were suffering from the plague as well as from the ravages of war, they blamed Pericles for advising warlike measures. The great orator, wishing to soothe their anger and resentment, called an assembly and addressed them in the following words.]

I WAS expecting this outburst of indignation; the causes of it are not unknown to me. And I have summoned an assembly that I may remind you of your resolutions and reprove you for your inconsiderate anger against me, and want of fortitude in misfortune. In my judgment it would be better for individuals themselves that the citizens should suffer and the state flourish than that the citizens should flourish and the state suffer. A private man, however successful in his own dealings, if his country perish is involved in her destruction; but if he be an unprosperous citizen of a prosperous city he is much more likely to recover. Seeing then that states can bear the misfortunes of individuals, but individuals cannot bear the misfortunes of the state, let us all stand by our country and not do what you are doing now, who because you are stunned by your private calamities are letting go the

common hope of safety, and condemning not only me who advised, but yourselves who consented to, the war. Yet I with whom you are so angry venture to say of myself that I am as capable as any one of devising and explaining a sound policy; and that I am a lover of my country and incorruptible. Now a man may have a policy which he cannot clearly expound, and then he might as well have none at all; or he may possess both ability and eloquence, but if he is disloyal to his country he cannot, like a true man, speak in her interests; or, again, he may be unable to resist a bribe, and then all his other good qualities will be sold for money. If, when you determined to go to war, you believed me to have somewhat more of the statesman in me than others, it is not fair that I should now be charged with anything like crime.

I allow that for men who are in prosperity and free to choose it is a great folly to make war. But when they must either submit and at once surrender independence, or strike and be free, then he who shuns and not he who meets the danger is deserving of blame. For my own part I am the same man and stand where I did. But you are changed; for you have been driven by misfortune to recall the consent which you gave when you were yet unhurt, and to think that my advice was wrong because your own characters are weak. The pain is present and comes home to each of you, but the good is as yet unrealized by any one; and your minds have not the strength to persevere in your resolution now that a great reverse has overtaken you unawares. Anything which is sudden and unexpected and utterly beyond calculation, such a disaster for instance as this plague coming upon other misfortunes, enthralls the spirit of a man. Nevertheless, being the citizens of a great city and educated in a temper of greatness, you should not succumb to calamities however over-

whelming, or darken the lustre of your fame. For if men hate the presumption of those who claim a reputation to which they have no right, they equally condemn the faint-heartedness of those who fall below the glory which is their own. You should lose the sense of your private sorrows and lay fast hold of the common good.

As to your sufferings in the war, if you fear that they may be very great and after all fruitless, I have shown you already over and over again that such a fear is groundless. If you are still unsatisfied I will indicate one element of your superiority which appears to have escaped you, although it nearly touches your imperial greatness. I, too, have never mentioned it before, nor would I now, because the claim may seem too arrogant, if I did not see that you are unreasonably depressed. You think that your empire is confined to your allies, but I say that of the two divisions of the world accessible to man, the land and the sea, there is one of which you are absolute masters, and have, or may have, the dominion to any extent which you please. Neither the great king nor any nation on earth can hinder a navy like yours from penetrating whithersoever you may choose to sail. When we reflect on this great power, houses and lands, of which the loss seems so dreadful to you, are as nothing. We ought not to be troubled about them or to think much of them in comparison; they are only the garden of the house, the superfluous ornament of wealth; and you may be sure that if we cling to our freedom and preserve that, we shall soon enough recover all the rest. But, if we are the servants of others, we shall be sure to lose not only freedom, but all that freedom gives. And where your ancestors doubly succeeded you will doubly fail. For their empire was not inherited by them from others, but won by the labor of their hands, and by

them preserved and bequeathed to us. And, surely, to be robbed of what you have is a greater disgrace than to fail in obtaining more. Meet your enemies, therefore, not only with spirit, but with disdain. Any coward or fortunate fool may brag and vaunt, but he is only capable of disdain whose conviction that he is stronger than his enemy rests, like our own, on grounds of reason. Courage fighting in a fair field is fortified by the intelligence which looks down upon an enemy; an intelligence relying, not on hope, which is the strength of helplessness, but on that surer foresight which is given by reason and observation of facts.

Once more, you are bound to maintain the imperial dignity of your city in which you all take pride; for you should not covet the glory unless you will endure the toil. And do not imagine that you are fighting about a simple issue, freedom or slavery; you have an empire to lose, and there is the danger to which the hatred of your imperial rule has exposed you. Neither can you resign your power if, at this crisis, any timorous or inactive spirit is for thus playing the honest man. For by this time your empire has become a tyranny which in the opinion of mankind may have been unjustly gained, but which cannot be safely surrendered. The men of whom I was speaking, if they could find followers, would soon ruin a city, and if they were to go and found a state of their own, would equally ruin that. For inaction is secure only when arrayed by the side of activity; nor is it expedient or safe for a sovereign, but only for a subject state, to be a servant.

You must not be led away by the advice of such citizens as these, nor be angry with me; for the resolution in favor of war was your own as much as mine. What if the enemy has come and done what he was certain to do when you refused to yield? What, too, if the plague followed? That was an

unexpected blow, but we might have foreseen all the rest. I am well aware that your hatred of me is aggravated by it. But how unjustly, unless to me you also ascribe the credit of any extraordinary success which may befall you! The visitations of heaven should be borne with resignation, the sufferings inflicted by an enemy with manliness. This has always been the spirit of Athens, and should not die out in you. Know that our city has the greatest name in all the world because she has never yielded to misfortunes, but has sacrificed more lives and endured severer hardships in war than any other; wherefore also she has the greatest power of any state up to this day; and the memory of her glory will always survive. Even if we should be compelled at last to abate somewhat of our greatness (for all things have their times of growth and decay), yet will the recollection live, that, of all Hellenes, we ruled over the greatest number of Hellenic subjects; that we withstood our enemies, whether single or united, in the most terrible wars, and that we were the inhabitants of a city endowed with every sort of wealth and greatness. The indolent may indeed find fault, but the man of action will seek to rival us, and he who is less fortunate will envy us. To be hateful and offensive has ever been at the time the fate of those who have aspired to empire. But he judges well who accepts unpopularity in a great cause. Hatred does not last long, and, besides the immediate splendor of great actions, the renown of them endures forever in men's memories. Looking forward to such future glory and present avoidance of dishonor, make an effort now and secure both. Let no herald be sent to the Lacedæmonians, and do not let them know that you are depressed by your sufferings. For the greatest states and the greatest men, when misfortunes come, are the least depressed in spirit and the most resolute in action.

NICIAS

NICIAS, a celebrated Athenian general in the Periclean period, was the inheritor of a large fortune, and thus naturally leaned toward the aristocratic party in the state. He was several times associated with Pericles, and on the latter's death came prominently forth as the opponent of Cleon. As a commander he was noted for his extreme caution, which won for him general confidence, and in his earlier career he was almost invariably successful. After the death of Cleon he exerted his great influence to bring about a cessation of hostilities with Sparta, and the peace of Nicias was the result in 421 B.C. In 415 he was sent, with other generals, in the expedition against Sicily, which ended in 414 in the defeat of the Athenians by Syracuse, and the surrender of Nicias and his colleague, Demosthenes. Both generals were then put to death by the Syracusans. Nicias was distinguished by perfect honesty of intention, and he displayed both skill and valor in ordinary warfare, but in the fatal Sicilian campaigns his want of foresight and comprehensive military genius proved the true cause of the disaster to the Athenian arms.

ADDRESS TO THE ATHENIAN ASSEMBLY

[Nicias, having been appointed against his will one of the commanders of the expedition against Sicily, and being distrustful of ultimate success and desirous of dissuading the Athenians from their purpose, remonstrated in the following speech, as reported by Thucydides.]

I KNOW that we are assembled here to discuss the preparations which are required for our expedition to Sicily, but in my judgment it is still a question whether we ought to go thither at all; we should not be hasty in determining a matter of so much importance, or allow ourselves to rush into an impolitic war at the instigation of foreigners. Yet to me personally war brings honor; and I am as careless as any man about my own life; not that I think the worse of a citizen who takes a little thought about his life or his property, for I believe that the sense of a man's own interest will quicken his interest in the prosperity of

the state. But I have never been induced by the love of reputation to say a single word contrary to what I thought; neither will I now: I will say simply what I believe to be best. If I told you to take care of what you have and not to throw away present advantages in order to gain an uncertain and distant good, my words would be powerless against a temper like yours. I would rather argue that this is not the time, and that your great aims will not be easily realized.

I tell you that in going to Sicily you are leaving many enemies behind you and seem to be bent on bringing new ones hither. You are perhaps relying upon the treaty recently made, which if you remain quiet may retain the name of a treaty; for to a mere name the intrigues of certain persons both here and at Lacedæmon have nearly succeeded in reducing it. But if you meet with any serious reverse your enemies will be upon you in a moment, for the agreement was originally extracted from them by the pressure of misfortune, and the discredit of it fell to them and not to us. In the treaty itself there are many disputed points; and, unsatisfactory as it is, to this hour several cities, and very powerful cities too, persist in rejecting it. Some of these are at open war with us already; others may declare war at ten days' notice; and they only remain at peace because the Lacedæmonians are indisposed to move. And in all probability, if they find our power divided (and such a division is precisely what we are striving to create), they will eagerly join the Sicilians, whose alliance in the war they would long ago have given anything to obtain.

These considerations should weigh with us. The state is far from the desired haven, and we should not run into danger and seek to gain a new empire before we have fully secured the old. The Chalcidians in Thrace have been

rebels all these years and remain unsubdued, and there are other subjects of ours in various parts of the mainland who are uncertain in their allegiance. And we forsooth cannot lose a moment in avenging the wrongs of our allies the Egestæans, while we still defer the punishment of our revolted subjects, whose offences are of long standing.

And yet if we subdue the Chalcidian rebels we may retain our hold on them; but Sicily is a populous and distant country, over which, even if we are victorious, we shall hardly be able to maintain our dominion. And how foolish it is to select for attack a land which no conquest can secure, while he who fails to conquer will not be where he was before!

I should say that the Sicilians are not dangerous to you — certainly not in their present condition, and they would be even less so if they were to fall under the sway of the Syracusans (and this is the prospect with which the Egestæans would fain scare you). At present individuals might cross the sea out of friendship for the Lacedæmonians; but if the states of Sicily were all united in one empire they would not be likely to make war upon another empire. For whatever chance they may have of overthrowing us if they unite with the Peloponnesians, there will be the same chance of their being overthrown themselves if the Peloponnesians and Athenians are ever united against them. The Hellenes in Sicily will dread us most if we never come; in a less degree if we display our strength and speedily depart; but if any disaster occur, they will despise us and be ready enough to join the enemies who are attacking us here. We all know that men have the greatest respect for that which is farthest off, and for that of which the reputation has been least tested; and this, Athenians, you may verify by

your own experience. There was a time when you feared the Lacedæmonians and their allies, but now you have got the better of them, and because your first fears have not been realized you despise them, and even hope to conquer Sicily.

But you ought not to be elated at the chance mishaps of your enemies; before you can be confident you should have gained the mastery over their minds. Remember that the Lacedæmonians are sensitive to their disgrace, and that their sole thought is how they may even yet find a way of inflicting a blow upon us which will retrieve their own character; the rather because they have labored so earnestly and so long to win a name for valor. If we are wise we shall not trouble ourselves about the barbarous Egestæans in Sicily; the real question is how we can make ourselves secure against the designs of an insidious oligarchy.

We must remember also that we have only just recovered in some measure from a great plague and a great war, and are beginning to make up our losses in men and money. It is our duty to expend our new resources upon ourselves at home, and not upon begging exiles who have an interest in successful lies; who find it expedient only to contribute words, and let others fight their battles; and who, if saved, prove ungrateful; if they fail, as they very likely may, only involve their friends in a common ruin.

I dare say there may be some young man here who is delighted at holding a command, and the more so because he is too young for his post; and he, regarding only his own interest, may recommend you to sail; he may be one who is much admired for his stud of horses and wants to make something out of his command which will maintain him in his extravagance. But do not you give him the opportunity of indulging his own magnificent tastes at the expense of

the state. Remember that men of this stamp impoverish themselves and defraud the public. An expedition to Sicily is a serious business, and not one which a mere youth can plan and carry into execution off-hand. The youth of whom I am speaking has summoned to his side young men like himself, whom, not without alarm, I see sitting by him in this assembly, and I appeal against them to you elder citizens. If one of you should be placed next one of his supporters, I would not have him ashamed or afraid of being thought a coward if he does not vote for war. Do not, like them, entertain a desperate craving for things out of your reach; you know that by prevision many successes are gained, but few or none by mere greed. On behalf of our country, now on the brink of the greatest danger which she has ever known, I entreat you to hold up your hands against them. Do not interfere with the boundaries which divide us from Sicily. I mean the Ionian gulf which parts us if we sail along the coast, the Sicilian sea if we sail through the open water; these are quite satisfactory. The Sicilians have their own country; let them manage their own concerns. And let the Egestæans in particular be informed that, having originally gone to war with the Selinuntians on their own account, they must make peace on their own account. Let us have no more allies such as ours have too often been, whom we are expected to assist when they are in misfortune, but to whom we ourselves when in need may look in vain.

And you, Prytanis, as you wish to be a good citizen and believe that the welfare of the state is entrusted to you, put my proposal to the vote, and lay the question once more before the Athenians. If you hesitate, remember that in the presence of so many witnesses there can be no question of breaking the law, and that you will be the physician of the

state at the critical moment. The first duty of the good magistrate is to do the very best which he can for his country, or, at least, to do her no harm which he can avoid.

ADDRESS TO TROOPS

[The Athenians having met a severe defeat in the harbor of Syracuse, Nicias rallied them for a second engagement in the following words.]

SOLDIERS of Athens and of our allies, we have all the same interest in the coming struggle; every one of us as well as of our enemies will now have to fight for his life and for his country, and if only we can win in the impending sea-fight, every one may see his native city and his own home once more. But we must not be faint-hearted, nor behave as if we were mere novices in the art of war, who when defeated in their first battle are full of cowardly apprehensions and continually retain the impress of their disaster. You, Athenians, have had great military experience; and you, allies, are always fighting at our side. Remember the sudden turns of war; let your hope be that fortune herself may yet come over to us; and prepare to retrieve your defeat in a manner worthy of the greatness of your own army which you see before you.

We have consulted the pilots about any improvements which seemed likely to avail against the crowding of ships in the narrow harbor, as well as against the troops on the enemy's decks, which in previous engagements did us so much harm, and we have adopted them as far as we had the means. Many archers and javelin-men will embark, and a great number of other troops, whom if we were going to fight in the open sea we should not employ because they

increase the weight of the ships and therefore impede our skill; but here, where we are obliged to fight a land-battle on shipboard, they will be useful. We have thought of all the changes which are necessary in the construction of our ships, and in order to counteract the thickness of the beams on the enemy's prows, for this did us more mischief than anything else, we have provided iron grapnels, which will prevent the ship striking us from retreating if the marines are quick and do their duty. For, as I tell you, we are positively driven to fight a land-battle on shipboard, and our best plan is neither to back water ourselves nor to allow the enemy to back water after we have once closed with him. Recollect that the shore, except so far as our land forces extend, is in their hands.

Knowing all this, you must fight to the last with all your strength and not be driven ashore. When ship strikes ship refuse to separate until you have swept the enemy's heavy-armed from their decks. I am speaking to the hoplites rather than to the sailors; for this is the special duty of the men on deck. We may still reckon on the superiority of our infantry. The sailors I would exhort, nay I would implore them, not to be paralyzed by their disasters; for they will find the arrangements on deck improved and the numbers of the fleet increased. Some among you have long been deemed Athenians, though they are not; and to them I say, consider how precious is that privilege and how worthy to be defended. You were admired in Hellas because you spoke our language and adopted our manners, and you shared equally with ourselves in the substantial advantages of our empire, while you gained even more than we by the dread which you inspired in subject states and in your security against injustice. You alone have been free partners in that empire; you

ought not to betray it now. And so despising the Corinthians whom you have beaten again and again, and the Sicilians who never dared to withstand us when our fleet was in its prime, repel your enemies, and show that your skill even amid weakness and disaster is superior to the strength of another in the hour of his success.

Let me appeal once more to you who are Athenians, and remind you that there are no more ships like these in the dockyards of the Piræus, and that you have no more recruits fit for service. In any event but victory your enemies here will instantly sail against Athens, while our countrymen at home, who are but a remnant, will be unable to defend themselves against the attacks of their former foes reinforced by the new invaders. You who are in Sicily will instantly fall into the hands of the Syracusans (and you know how you meant to deal with them), and your friends at Athens into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. In this one struggle you have to fight for yourselves and them. Stand firm therefore now, if ever, and remember one and all of you who are embarking that you are both the fleet and army of your country, and that on you hangs the whole state and the great name of Athens: for her sake if any man exceed another in skill or courage let him display them now; he will never have a better opportunity of doing good to himself and saving his country.

CLEON

CLEON, an Athenian demagogue, the date of whose birth is not known, first came into prominence as an opponent of Pericles. As a representative of the lower middle classes he attained great popularity and was the leader of the war party during the six years from 438 to 432. He was cordially hated by the opposite party, who have left a very unenviable account of him for posterity to read. Thucydides describes him as bullying and turbulent in manner and virulent in his accusations and invectives. In his comedy, "The Knights," Aristophanes gives us a satirical exaggerated portrait of Cleon, and in "The Wasps" displays him as the patron of all the abuses of the courts of justice. In 425 he led a successful expedition against Sphacteria, but in 422, when commanding another against the Spartan general, Brasidas, the Athenians were defeated at the battle of Amphipolis, and Cleon and the Spartan general were both killed.

ON THE CONDEMNATION OF THE MITYLENÆANS

[In a former assembly a decree had been carried, condemning the Mitylenæans to death for having revolted. But the Athenians, feeling that this decree was one of extreme cruelty, called a second assembly to reconsider the decision. Cleon, in the following speech, as reported by Thucydides, exhorted the Athenians to abide by their first decree. When he had finished, Diodotus urged the people to be more lenient, and his humane motion prevailed.]

I HAVE remarked again and again that a democracy cannot manage an empire, but never more than now, when I see you regretting your condemnation of the Mitylenæans. Having no fear or suspicion of one another in daily life, you deal with your allies upon the same principle, and you do not consider that whenever you yield to them out of pity or are misled by their specious tales you are guilty of a weakness dangerous to yourselves and receive no thanks from them. You should remember that your empire is a despotism exercised over unwilling subjects, who are always conspiring against you; they do not obey in return for any kindness which

you do them to your own injury, but in so far as you are their masters; they have no love of you, but they are held down by force.

Besides, what can be more detestable than to be perpetually changing our minds? We forget that a state in which the laws, though imperfect, are unalterable, is better off than one in which the laws are good but powerless. Dulness and modesty are a more useful combination than cleverness and license; and the more simple sort generally make better citizens than the more astute. For the latter desire to be thought wiser than the laws; they want to be always taking a lead in the discussions of the assembly; they think that they can nowhere have a finer opportunity of speaking their mind, and their folly generally ends in the ruin of their country; whereas the others, mistrusting their own capacity, admit that the laws are wiser than themselves: they do not pretend to criticise the arguments of a great speaker; and being impartial judges, not ambitious rivals, they are generally in the right. That is the spirit in which we should act; not suffering ourselves to be so excited by our own cleverness in a war of wits as to advise the Athenian people contrary to our own better judgment.

I myself think as I did before, and I wonder at those who have brought forward the case of the Mitylenæans again, thus interposing a delay which is in the interest of the evil-doer. For after a time the anger of the sufferer waxes dull, and he pursues the offender with less keenness; but the vengeance which follows closest upon the wrong is most adequate to it and exacts the fullest retribution. And, again, I wonder who will answer me, and whether he will attempt to show that the crimes of the Mitylenæans are a benefit to us, or that when we suffer our allies suffer with us. Clearly he must be some one who has such confidence in his powers of speech as to contend

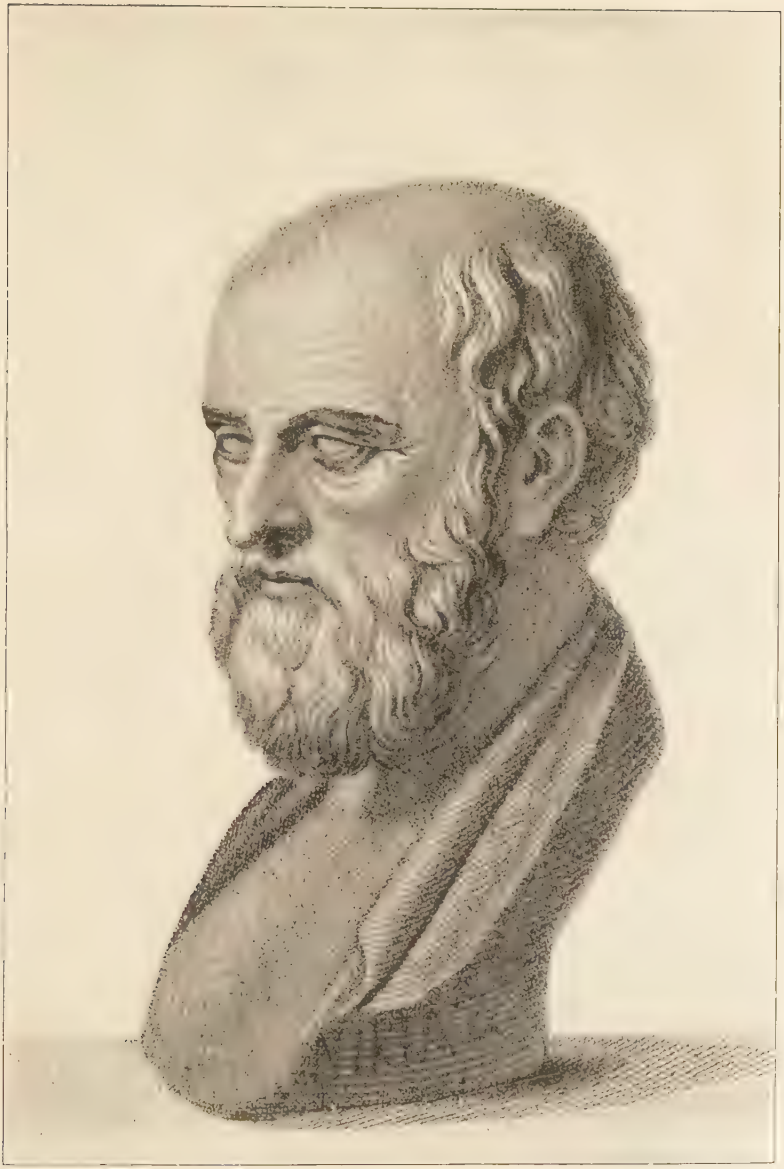
that you never adopted what was most certainly your resolution; or else he must be some one who, under the inspiration of a bribe, elaborates a sophistical speech in the hope of diverting you from the point. In such rhetorical contests the city gives away the prizes to others, while she takes the risk upon herself.

And you are to blame, for you order these contests amiss. When speeches are to be heard you are too fond of using your eyes, but where actions are concerned you trust your ears; you estimate the possibility of future enterprises from the eloquence of an orator, but as to accomplished facts, instead of accepting ocular demonstration, you believe only what ingenious critics tell you. No men are better dupes, sooner deceived by novel notions, or slower to follow approved advice. You despise what is familiar, while you are worshippers of every new extravagance. Not a man of you but would be an orator if he could; when he cannot, he will not yield the palm to a more successful rival: he would fain show that he does not let his wits come limping after, but that he can praise a sharp remark before it is well out of another's mouth; he would like to be as quick in anticipating what is said as he is slow in foreseeing its consequences. You are always hankering after an ideal state, but you do not give your minds even to what is straight before you. In a word, you are at the mercy of your own ears, and sit like spectators attending a performance of sophists, but very unlike counsellors of a state.

I want you to put aside this trifling, and therefore I say to you that no single city has ever injured us so deeply as Mitylene. I can excuse those who find our rule too heavy to bear, or who have revolted because the enemy have compelled them. But islanders who had walls, and were unassailable by our enemies except at sea, and on that element

were sufficiently protected by a fleet of their own, who were independent and treated by us with the highest regard, when they act thus they have not revolted (that word would imply that they were oppressed), but they have rebelled, and entering the ranks of our bitterest enemies have conspired with them to seek our ruin. And surely this is far more atrocious than if they had been led by motives of ambition to take up arms against us on their own account. They learned nothing from the misfortunes of their neighbors who had already revolted and been subdued by us, nor did the happiness of which they were in the enjoyment make them hesitate to court destruction. They trusted recklessly to the future, and cherishing hopes which, if less than their wishes, were greater than their powers, they went to war, preferring might to right. No sooner did they seem likely to win than they set upon us, although we were doing them no wrong. Too swift and sudden a rise is apt to make cities insolent, and in general, ordinary good-fortune is safer than extraordinary. Mankind apparently find it easier to drive away adversity than to retain prosperity. We should from the first have made no difference between the Mitylenæans and the rest of our allies, and then their insolence would never have arisen to such a height; for men naturally despise those who court them, but respect those who do not give way to them. Yet it is not too late to punish them as their crimes deserve. And do not absolve the people while you throw the blame upon the nobles. For they were all of one mind when we were to be attacked. Had the people deserted the nobles and come over to us, they might at this moment have been reinstated in their city; but they considered that their safety lay in sharing the dangers of the oligarchy, and therefore they joined in the revolt.

Reflect: if you impose the same penalty upon those of your



NICIAS

allies who wilfully rebel and upon those who are constrained by the enemy, which of them will not revolt upon any pretext however trivial, seeing that, if he succeed, he will be free, and, if he fail, no irreparable evil will follow? We in the meantime shall have to risk our lives and our fortunes against every one in turn. When conquerors we shall recover only a ruined city, and, for the future, the revenues which are our strength will be lost to us. But if we fail, the number of our adversaries will be increased. And when we ought to be employed in repelling our regular enemies we shall be wasting time in fighting against our own allies.

Do not then hold out a hope, which eloquence can secure or money buy, that they are to be excused and that their error is to be deemed human and venial. Their attack was not unpremeditated; that might have been an excuse for them; but they knew what they were doing. This was my original contention, and I still maintain that you should abide by your former decision, and not be misled either by pity, or by the charm of words, or by a too-forgiving temper. There are no three things more prejudicial to your power. Mercy should be reserved for the merciful, and not thrown away upon those who will have no compassion on us, and who must by the force of circumstances always be our enemies. And our charming orators will still have an arena, but one in which the questions at stake will not be so grave, and the city will not pay so dearly for her brief pleasure in listening to them, while they for a good speech get a good fee. Lastly, forgiveness is naturally shown to those who, being reconciled, will continue friends, and not to those who will always remain what they were, and will abate nothing of their enmity. In one word, if you do as I say, you will do what is just to the Mitylenæans and also what is expedient for yourselves: but

if you take the opposite course they will not be grateful to you, and you will be self-condemned. For, if they were right in revolting, you must be wrong in maintaining your empire. But if, right or wrong, you are resolved to rule, then rightly or wrongly they must be chastised for your good. Otherwise you must give up your empire, and, when virtue is no longer dangerous, you may be as virtuous as you please. Punish them as they would have punished you; let not those who have escaped appear to have less feeling than those who conspired against them. Consider: what might not they have been expected to do if they had conquered? — especially since they were the aggressors. For those who wantonly attack others always rush into extremes, and sometimes, like these Mitylenæans, to their own destruction. They know the fate which is reserved for them if their enemy is spared; when a man is injured without a cause he is more dangerous if he escape than the enemy who has only suffered what he has inflicted. Be true then to yourselves, and recall as vividly as you can what you felt at the time; think how you would have given the world to crush your enemies, and now take your revenge. Do not be soft-hearted at the sight of their distress, but remember the danger which was once hanging over your heads. Chastise them as they deserve, and prove by an example to your other allies that rebellion will be punished with death. If this is made quite clear to them, your attention will no longer be diverted from your enemies by wars against your own allies.

GORGIAS

GORGIAS, a celebrated rhetorician and orator, was the first Greek writer who aimed at artistic rhythmic prose. He was a native of Leontini in Sicily, and was born about 480 B.C.; he is said to have lived to the great age of 105 or 109 years. In 427 he was despatched to Athens as an ambassador from Leontini to beg the aid of the Athenians against Syracuse. The remainder of his life was mainly spent in Athens and Larissa, where he was highly honored. He seems to have entertained a modest opinion of his own abilities in spite of the praise he received, for he declared that he was only a speaker, and not a teacher, a rhetorician, not a sophist. His style is marked by an antithesis, alliteration, and other rhetorical graces; he seems to have paid great attention to symmetry. His oratory made a deep impression upon the Athenians of his own time. He exercised considerable influence upon the manner of Thucydides, and perhaps upon that of Isocrates also. Two declamations attributed to him survive, "The Apology of Palamedes" and "The Encomium on Helen." Among his works, of which the titles only are preserved, was one upon "Nature and Nothing," in which he is said to have maintained, in the first place, that nothing exists; secondly, that if anything exists we cannot know it; thirdly, that if we know it we cannot possibly communicate our knowledge.

THE ENCOMIUM ON HELEN

A CITY is adorned by good citizenship, the body by beauty, the soul by wisdom, acts by virtue, and speech by truthfulness. But the opposites of these virtues are a disgrace. Man and woman, word and deed, city and government, we ought to praise if praiseworthy, and blame if blameworthy. For it is equally wrong and stupid to censure what is commendable, and to commend what is censurable. Now I conceive it to be my duty in the interest of justice to confute the slanderers of Helen, the memory of whose misfortunes has been kept alive by the writings of the poets and the fame of her name. I propose, therefore, by argument to exonerate her from the charge of

infamy, to convince her accusers of their error, and remove their ignorance by a revelation of the truth.

There are few indeed who do not know that by birth Helen ranked among the first men and women of her time. Her mother was the celebrated Leda, her father the god Zeus, though Tyndareus was reputed to be her father. The former is the mightiest of gods, the latter the noblest of men.

Born of such parents, she possessed divine beauty, which she made no attempt to conceal. Nearly all who met her were inspired with love for her, and by her personal charms she attracted many great and haughty suitors. Some of them had abundance of wealth; others were renowned for their ancient nobility. Some were distinguished for their physical superiority and prowess in war; others for their mental acquirements. But all in common were filled with contentious love and an irrepressible spirit of rivalry. Now which of them won Helen and how he satisfied his love for her, I shall not pretend to say. For to tell people what they already know is a good enough way to gain credence, but not to give pleasure. Passing over, then, that period in my discourse, I shall now address myself to what I have to say, and set forth the probable causes of Helen's voyage to Troy.

Now Helen acted as she did either by command of the gods and a decree of fate, or she was carried off by force, or yielded to persuasion, or was led captive by love. If, then, her act was the effect of the first cause, she certainly ought not to be blamed. For human forethought and prudence can never thwart the will of the gods. In fact it is a universal law, not that the stronger should yield to the weaker, but the weaker to the stronger; that the stronger should lead, and

the weaker follow. Now the gods are mightier than men in strength and wisdom and all things else. Accordingly we must attribute the fault to fate and the gods, or clear Helen of infamy.

But if she was unlawfully carried off by force and shamefully insulted, evidently it was the perpetrator of this outrage who did wrong; she, on the other hand, is to be pitied for the indignity and misfortune she was compelled to suffer. He alone, then, who attempted this barbarous deed, deserves to pay the penalty of dishonor and reproach, while she ought rather to be pitied than abused for being violently torn from her friends and her native land. Helen was not a sinner, but a sufferer, and our feeling for her should not be one of hatred, but of compassion.

But if it was the power of speech that moved and beguiled her soul, it will not be difficult to free her of all blame on this score. For the power of speech is mighty. Insignificant in themselves, words accomplish the most remarkable ends. They have power to remove fear and assuage pain. Moreover they can produce joy and increase pity. That this is so there can be no doubt, as I shall undertake to show.

All poetry I call, in accordance with my conception of it, measured speech. Now the readers of poetry are affected in various ways. At times they experience a shivering fear; then again they feel a tender pity and mournful longing. In short, every condition of happiness or unhappiness touches a responsive chord in the soul of the reader. Song, then, inspired by the gods, produces pleasure and removes pain. For the spirit of song, harmonizing with the sentiment of the soul, soothes, and persuades, and enchants it. Enchantment differs from magic in that it beguiles the soul, while magic deceives the mind. In this lies the power of song.

How many, then, have been persuaded and are still persuaded by the captivating power of speech! Whereas, if we had perfect memory of the past, full knowledge of the present, and clear foresight of the future, the same language could not so easily present to us the same pictures of the present, past, and future as is now the case. The result would be that in nearly all cases people would not take counsel of their opinions. For opinions are slippery and insecure, and lead those who follow them into slippery and insecure positions.

Since so many have yielded to persuasion, why should we refuse assent to the belief that Helen too was overcome by its irresistible power? And if submission to necessity be a complete defence, why not also submission to persuasion, which is no less powerful than necessity, since it compels assent to what is said and approval of what is done? Paris, I admit, did wrong in exercising upon Helen the compulsory power of persuasion, but in submitting to that power Helen did nothing to merit condemnation.

That persuasion joined with argument can bend the soul to its will, we find illustrated in the discourses of the astronomers, who by overthrowing one theory and setting up another make the unknown and incredible appear clear to the mind's eye. Again we see evidence of this fact in oratorical contests, in which a speech delights and persuades a great multitude, owing its effectiveness rather to the force of rhetorical art than to the power of truth. Finally the discussions of the philosophers show us how easily the mind may be changed by argument and persuasion.

To conclude this part of my argument, then, words have the same effect on the soul that drugs have on the body. For just as different drugs expel different diseases from the body,

and some cure sickness and others end life, so words produce various effects on the soul. Some cause pain, and others pleasure. Some terrify, and others encourage, while still others drug and enchant the soul with evil persuasion. In yielding to persuasion, then, Helen did no wrong, but suffered great misfortune.

Let us now consider the case from a fourth point of view; and if we find that Helen acted as she did through love, we must acquit her of all fault. For all things in the visible world are constituted, not as we would have them, but as nature has ordained. And through the sight this visible world affects the soul in various ways. When, for example, the eye catches sight of hostile bodies in conflict, of assault, and of defence, it is troubled and in turn troubles the soul, so that not infrequently people flee in terror when there is no impending danger. Many a man in the past has lost his presence of mind at some terrible sight; to such an extent does fear paralyze the mind. Many, too, through fear, become dreadfully sick or incurably mad; so powerful an impression does the eye make on the mind of the things it has seen. To enumerate instances of sights that inspire terror is unnecessary, since in all cases the effect on the soul is the same as in the example I have given. When, however, from many colors and many forms, a painter produces one perfect form and figure, he delights our eyes. The sight of beautiful images and statues affords us unspeakable pleasure. So, too, the sight of many things and many persons inspires us with love and longing.

Since this is so, what wonder if Helen's eye was captivated by the charms of Paris, and transmitted the sensation of love to her soul? And how, if he was a god and possessed of divine power, could she in her weakness repel his advances?

But if this be human frailty we ought not to condemn it as a fault, but regard it as a misfortune. For it comes to us through captivation of the soul, and not by design of the intellect. It results from the necessity of love, and not the premeditation of art.

How, then, can we justly censure Helen? For whether she acted through love, persuasion, force, or divine necessity, her conduct is equally defensible.

I have now, by argument, removed all stain from Helen's reputation, and accomplished the task I set myself at the beginning, by discrediting unjust censure and ignorant opinion. My purpose has been to make this discourse an encomium of Helen and a pastime for myself.

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]

ANTIPHON

ANTIPHON, the most ancient of the ten Attic orators named in the Alexandrine canon, was born at Rhamnus, 480 B.C. During the Peloponnesian War he was several times placed in command of detachments of Athenian soldiers, and was a prominent figure in the overthrow of the democracy. He was among those who in 411 established the oligarchy of the Four Hundred, but upon a change in the government, which soon followed, he was accused of high treason and put to death. He is usually regarded as the founder of political oratory and he was certainly the first to lay down definite rules and principles for public speaking. He must not be confounded with Antiphon the philosopher, or with Antiphon the tragic poet at the court of the elder Dionysius.

Fifteen speeches by Antiphon are extant, all of them upon murder cases. "He represents," says Professor Jebb, "that early style of prose composition which Dionysius calls the 'austere' or 'rugged,' as distinguished from the 'smooth' of Isocrates, and the 'middle' of Demosthenes. Its leading characteristics are dignity, reliance on contrasts of single words, sparing use of the 'figures of thought,' as irony, rhetorical question, etc., predominance of direct appeals to feeling over subtle expression of character in the structure of sentences."

ON THE MURDER OF HERODES

[Helus, a Mitylenæan, having been accused of the murder of Herodes, who had mysteriously disappeared from the boat in which the two had embarked in company, defended himself in the following speech, composed for him by Antiphon.]

I COULD have wished, gentlemen, that I possessed the gift of eloquence and legal experience proportionate to my adversity. Adversity I have experienced in an unusual degree, but in eloquence and legal experience I am sadly deficient. The result is that, in circumstances where I was compelled to suffer personal ill usage on a false charge, legal experience did not come to my rescue; and here, when my salvation depends on a true statement of the facts, I feel embarrassed by my incapacity for speaking. Many an innocent man has been condemned because of his inability to pre-

sent clearly the truth and justice of his cause. Many a guilty man, on the other hand, has escaped punishment through skilful pleading. It follows, then, that if the accused lacks experience in these matters, his fate depends rather on the representations of his prosecutors than on the actual facts and true version of the case.

I shall not ask you, gentlemen, to give me an impartial hearing. And yet I am aware that such is the practice of most men on trial, who have no faith in their own cause or confidence in your justice. No, I make no such request, because I know full well that, like all good men and true, you will grant me the same hearing that you grant the prosecution. I do ask you, however, to be indulgent if I commit any indiscretion of speech, and to attribute it rather to my inexperience than to the injustice of my cause. But if my argument has any weight I pray you will ascribe it rather to the force of truth than rhetorical art.

I have always felt that it is not just either that one who has done wrong should be saved through eloquence, or that one who has done no wrong should be condemned through lack of eloquence. Unskilful speaking is but a sin of the tongue; but wrongful acts are sins of the soul. Now it is only natural that a man whose life is in danger should commit some indiscretion of speech; for he must be intent not only on what he says, but on the outcome of the trial, since all that is still uncertain is controlled rather by chance than by providence. This fact inspires great fear in a man whose life is at stake. In fact, I have often observed that the most experienced orators speak with embarrassment when their lives are in danger. But whenever they seek to accomplish some purpose without danger they are more successful. My request for indulgence, then, gentlemen, is both natural and lawful;

and it is no less your duty to grant it than my right to make it.

I shall now consider the case for the prosecution in detail. And first I shall show you that I have been brought to trial here in violation of law and justice, not on the chance of eluding your judgment — for I would commit my life to your decision, even if you were bound by no oath to pronounce judgment according to law, since I am conscious that I have done no wrong and feel assured that you will do me justice: no, my purpose in showing you this is rather that the lawlessness and violence of my accusers may bear witness to you of their bitter feeling towards me.

First, then, though they imprisoned me as a malefactor, they have indicted me for homicide — an outrage that no one has ever before suffered in this land. For I am not a malefactor, or amenable to the law of malefactors, which has to do only with thieves and highwaymen. So far, then, as they have dealt with me by summary process, they have made it possible for you to make my acquittal lawful and righteous.

But they argue that homicide is a species of malefaction. I admit that it is a great crime, as great as sacrilege or treason. But these crimes are dealt with each according to its own peculiar laws. Moreover, they compel me to undergo trial in this place of public assemblage, where all men charged with murder are usually forbidden to appear; and furthermore they would commute to a fine in my case the sentence of death imposed by law on all murderers, not for my benefit, but for their own private gain, thereby defrauding the dead of lawful satisfaction. Their reason for so doing you will perceive as my argument advances.

In the second place, you all know that the courts decide

murder cases in the open air, for no other reason than that the judges may not assemble in the same place with those whose hands have been defiled with blood, and that the prosecutor may not be sheltered beneath the same roof with the murderer. This custom my accusers have utterly disregarded. Nay, they have even failed to take the customary solemn oath that, whatever other crimes I may have committed, they will prosecute me for murder alone, and will allow no meritorious act of mine to stand in the way of my condemnation. Thus do they prosecute me unsworn; and even their witnesses testify against me without having taken the oath. And then they expect you, gentlemen, to believe these unsworn witnesses and condemn me to death, when they have made it impossible for you to accept such testimony by their violation and contempt of the law.

But they contend if I had been set free I would have fled. What motive could I have had? For, if I did not mind exile, I might have refused to come home when summoned, and have incurred judgment by default, or, having come, might have left voluntarily after my first trial. For such a course is open to all. And yet my accusers in their lawlessness seek to deprive me alone of the common right of all Greeks.

This leads me, gentlemen, to say a word about the laws that govern my case. And I think you will admit that they are good and righteous, since, though very ancient, they still remain unchanged — an unmistakable proof of excellence in laws. For time and experience teach men what is good and what is not good. You ought not, therefore, judge by the arguments of my accusers whether the laws are good or bad, but rather judge by the laws whether their claims are just or unjust. So perfect, indeed, are the laws that relate to homicide, that no one has ever dared to disturb them. But

these men have dared to constitute themselves lawmakers in order to effect their wicked purposes, and disregarding these ordinances they seek unjustly to compass my ruin.

Their lawlessness, however, will not help them, for they well know that they have no sworn witness to testify against me. Moreover they did not make a single decisive trial of the matter, as they would have done if they had confidence in their cause. No, they left room for controversy and argument, as if, in fact, they meant to dispute the previous verdict. The result is that I gain nothing by an acquittal, since it will be open to them to say that I was acquitted as a malefactor, not as a murderer, and catching me again they will ask to have me sentenced to death on a charge of homicide. Wicked schemers! Would ye have the judges set aside a verdict obtained by fair means, and put me a second time in jeopardy of my life for the same offence? But this is not all. They would not even allow me to offer bail according to law, and thus escape imprisonment, though they have never before denied this privilege even to an alien. And yet the officers in charge of malefactors conform to the same custom. I, alone, then, have failed to derive advantage from this common right conferred by law. This wrong they have done me for two reasons: First, that they might render me helpless to prepare for my defence; and second, that they might influence my friends, through anxiety for my safety, to bear false witness against me. Thus, would they bring disgrace upon me and mine for life.

In this trial, then, I am at a disadvantage in respect to many points of your law and of justice. Nevertheless, I shall try to prove my innocence. And yet I realize that it will be difficult immediately to dissipate the false impression which these men have long conspired to create. For it is impossible for any man to guard against the unexpected.

Now, the facts in the case, gentlemen, are briefly these: I sailed from Mitylene in the same boat with Herodes, whom I am accused of having murdered. Our destination was the same — Ænus,— but our objects were different. I went to visit my father, who happened to be at Ænus at that time; Herodes went to sell some slaves to certain Thracian merchants. Both the slaves and the merchants sailed with us.

To confirm these statements I shall now offer the testimony of competent witnesses.

To continue, then, we were compelled by a violent storm to put in at a port on the Methymnian coast, and there we found the boat on which they allege I killed Herodes.

Now I would have you bear in mind that this whole affair took place not through design on my part, but through chance. For it was by chance that Herodes undertook the voyage with me. It was by chance that we encountered the storm, which compelled us to put in at the Methymnian port. And it was by chance that we found the cabined boat in which we sought shelter against the violence of the storm.

After we had boarded the other boat and had taken some wine, Herodes left us, never to return. But I did not leave the boat at all that night. On the day after Herodes disappeared, however, I sought him as diligently as any of our company, and felt his loss as keenly. It was I who proposed sending a messenger to Mitylene, and when no one else was willing to go I offered to send my own attendant. Of course, I would not have done this if I had murdered Herodes, for I would be sending an informant against myself. Finally, it was only after I was satisfied by diligent search that Herodes was nowhere to be found, that I sailed away with the first favorable wind. Such are the facts.

What inference can you draw from these facts other than

that I am an innocent man? Even these men did not accuse me on the spot, while I was still in the country, although they knew of the affair. No, the truth was too apparent at that time. Only after I had departed, and they had had an opportunity to conspire against me, did they bring this indictment.

Now the prosecution have two theories of the death of Herodes. One is that he was killed on shore, the other that he was cast into the sea. First, then, they say that I killed Herodes on shore, by striking him on the head with a stone. This is impossible, since, as I have proved, I did not leave the boat that night. Strange that they should pretend to have accurate knowledge of the manner of his death, and yet not be able satisfactorily to account for the disappearance of his body. Evidently this must have happened near the shore, for, since it was night, and Herodes was drunk, his murderer could have had no reason to take him far from the shore. However that may be, two days' search failed to produce any trace of him. This drives them to their second hypothesis — that I drowned Herodes. If that were so, there would be some sign in the boat that the man was murdered and cast into the sea. No such sign, however, appears. But they say they have found signs in the boat in which he drank the wine. And yet they admit he was not killed in that boat. The utter absurdity of this second view is shown by the fact that they cannot find the boat they say I used for the purpose of drowning Herodes, or any trace of it.

It was not till after I had sailed away to Ænus, and the boat in which Herodes and I made the voyage had returned to Mitylene, that these men made the examination that led to the discovery of blood. At once they concluded that I killed Herodes on that very boat. But when they found that

this theory was inadmissible, since the blood was proved to be that of sheep, they changed their course and sought to obtain information by torturing the crew. The poor wretch whom they first subjected to torture said nothing compromising about me. But the other, whom they did not torture till several days later, keeping him near them in the meantime, is the one who has borne false witness against me. . . .

All that it is possible for you to learn, gentlemen, from the testimony of human witnesses, you have now heard. It remains to consider the testimony of the gods, expressed by signs. For by reliance on these heaven-sent signs you will best secure the safety of the state both in adversity and in prosperity. In private matters, too, you ought to attach great weight to these signs. You all know, of course, that, when a wicked man embarks in the same boat with a righteous man, the gods not infrequently cause the shipwreck and destruction of both because of the sinfulness of one alone. Again, the righteous, by associating with the wicked, have been brought, if not to destruction, at least into the greatest dangers that divine wrath can send. Finally, the presence of guilty men at a sacrifice has often caused the omens to be unfavorable. Thus do the gods testify to the guilt and wickedness of man.

In the light of divine testimony, then, my innocence is established. For no mariner with whom I sailed has ever suffered shipwreck. Nor has my presence at a sacrifice ever caused the omens to be unfavorable.

Now, I feel sure, gentlemen, that if the prosecution could find evidence that my presence on shipboard or at a sacrifice had ever caused any mishap, they would insist upon this as the clearest proof of my guilt. Since, however, this divine testimony is adverse to their claims, they ask you to reject it, and to have faith in their representations. Thus do they run

counter to the practice of all reasonable men. For, instead of testing words by facts, they seek to overthrow facts by words.

Having now concluded my defence, gentlemen, against all that I can recall of the charge against me, I look to you for acquittal. On that depends my salvation and the fulfilment of your oath. For you have sworn to pronounce judgment according to law. Now, I am not liable to the laws under which I was arrested, while as to the acts with which I am charged I can still be brought to trial in the legal form. And if two trials have been made out of one, the fault is not mine, but that of my accusers. When, however, my worst enemies give me the chance of a second trial, surely you, the impartial awarders of justice, will never pronounce on the present issue a premature verdict of murder. Be not so unjust; rather leave something for that other witness, Time, who aids the zealous seekers of eternal truth. I should certainly desire that in cases of homicide the sentence be in accordance with law, but that the investigation, in every possible instance, be regulated by justice. In this way the interests of truth and right would best be secured. For in homicide cases an unjust sentence banishes truth and justice beyond recall. If, then, you condemn me, you are bound to abide by the sentence, however guiltless I may be. No one would dare, through confidence in his innocence, to contravene the sentence passed upon him, nor, if conscious of guilt, would he rebel against the law. We must yield not only to the truth, but to a verdict against the truth, especially if there be no one to support our cause. It is for these reasons that the laws, the oaths, and the solemnities in murder cases differ from those in all other cases. In this class of cases it is of the utmost importance that the issue be clear and the decision correct. For, other-

wise, either the murdered will be deprived of vengeance, or an innocent man will suffer death unjustly. It is less serious, however, that the prosecution should accuse unjustly, than that you, the judges, should decide unjustly. For their accusation is not decisive, the result depends on you. Decide, then, justly; for your decision, if wrong, admits of no remedy.

But how, you may ask, will you decide justly? By compelling my accusers to take the customary solemn oath before they put me upon my defence against an indictment for murder. And how are you to accomplish this? By acquitting me now. And remember that, even though you acquit me now, I shall not escape your judgment, since in the other trial, too, you will be my judges. By an acquittal now you make it possible to deal with me hereafter as you will, but, if you condemn me now, my case will not be open to reconsideration. If, then, you must make any mistake, an undeserved acquittal is less serious than an unjust condemnation. For the former is a mistake only; the latter an eternal disgrace. Take care, then, that you do no irreparable wrong. Some of you in the past have actually repented of condemning innocent men, but not one of you has ever repented of making an undeserved acquittal. Moreover, involuntary mistakes are pardonable, voluntary unpardonable. The former we attribute to chance, the latter to design. Of two risks, then, run the lesser; commit the involuntary mistake; acquit me.

Now, gentlemen, if my conscience were guilty, I should never have come into this city. But I did come — with an abiding faith in the justice of my cause, and strong in conscious innocence. For not once alone has a clear conscience raised up and supported a failing body in the hour of trial and tribulation. A guilty conscience, on the other hand, is a

source of weakness to the strongest body. The confidence, therefore, with which I appear before you, is the confidence of innocence.

To conclude, gentlemen, I have only to say that I am not surprised that my accusers slander me. That is their part; yours is not to credit their slander. If, on the one hand, you listen to me, you can afterwards repent, if you like, and punish me by way of remedy, but, if you listen to my accusers, and do what they wish, no remedy will then be admissible. Moreover, no long time will intervene before you can decide lawfully what the prosecution now asks you to decide unlawfully. Matters like these require not haste, but deliberation. On the present occasion, then, take a survey of the case; on the next, sit in judgment on the witnesses; form, now, an opinion; later, decide the facts.

It is very easy, indeed, to testify falsely against a man charged with murder. For, if he be immediately condemned to death, his false accusers have nothing to fear, since all danger of retribution is removed on the day of execution. And, even if the friends of the condemned man cared to exact satisfaction for malicious prosecution, of what advantage would it be to him after his death.

Acquit me, then, on this issue, and compel my accusers to indict me according to law. Your judgment will then be strictly legal, and, if condemned, I cannot complain that it was contrary to law. This request I make of you with due regard to your conscience as well as to my own right. For upon your oath depends my safety. By whichever of these considerations you are influenced, you must acquit me.

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]

SOCRATES

SOCRATES, one of the greatest philosophers of Greece or of any country and time, was born at Athens in 470 or 469 B.C. He was the son of a sculptor, and, besides inclining to the study of geometry and astronomy in his early youth, is thought to have pursued the study of philosophy under Archelaus. He figured in three military campaigns, in the first of which he saved the life of Alcibiades, and in another that of Xenophon. His method of instruction was by means of conversations with all classes of persons in the public resorts. Aristophanes in "The Clouds" ridiculed him as the arch-sophist, and as morally worthless, at the very time when he was risking his life in battle for his country. A quarter of a century later Melitus, a poet, Anytus, a demagogue, and Lycon, an orator, accused him publicly of not worshipping the gods of the city, but substituting new gods of his own, and of corrupting the youth of Athens. As he had humiliated in argument many distinguished Athenians, his enemies were numerous and he was adjudged guilty. Had his plea been more conciliatory, he would doubtless have been acquitted, but on being asked to choose the penalty to be inflicted upon him he replied that for his services to the state he deserved to be provided for at the public cost for the rest of his life. His answer so exasperated his judges that he was condemned to death, and, accordingly, in April or May, 399, he drank a cup of hemlock poison. In person Socrates was repulsive, resembling a satyr rather than a grave philosopher. He was temperate, brave, upright, endowed with a high sense of honor, and, although independent in his judgment, he remained loyal to the existing government. He was married and was the father of three children, his wife, Xantippe, being remembered, whether justly or not, as a hot-tempered scold. As a writer, Socrates is known chiefly through his disciples, Xenophon and Plato. To him are usually ascribed the invention of induction in argument, and the accurate definition of terms.

THE APOLOGY

[Two charges were brought against Socrates, one, that he did not believe in the gods received by the state, the other, that he corrupted the Athenian youth by teaching them not to believe. Plato, who was present at the trial, probably gives us the very arguments employed by the accused on that occasion. With regard to the first accusation, he neither confesses nor denies it, but shows that he had in some instances conformed to the religious customs of his country, and that he did believe in God, so much so, indeed, that even if they would acquit him on condition of his abandoning his practice of teaching others, he could not consent to such terms, but must persevere in fulfilling the mission on which the Deity had sent him, for that he feared God rather than man. With reference to the second charge, which he meets, first, by his usual method of a brief but close cross-examination of his accuser, Melitus, he brings him to this

dilemma, that he must either charge him with corrupting the youth designedly, which would be absurd, or with doing so undesignedly, for which he could not be liable to punishment. In the third and concluding part, with a dignity and fulness of hope worthy even of a Christian, he expresses his belief that the death to which he is going is only a passage to a better and a happier life.]

I KNOW not, O Athenians, how far you have been influenced by my accusers; for my part, in listening to them I almost forgot myself, so plausible were their arguments; however, so to speak, they have said nothing true. But of the many falsehoods which they uttered I wondered at one of them especially, that in which they said you ought to be on your guard lest you should be deceived by me, as being eloquent in speech. For that they are not ashamed of being forthwith convicted by me in fact, when I shall show that I am not by any means eloquent, this seemed to me the most shameless thing in them, unless indeed they call him eloquent who speaks the truth.

For, if they mean this, then I would allow that I am an orator, but not after their fashion; for they, as I affirm, have said nothing true; but from me you shall hear the whole truth. Not indeed, Athenians, arguments highly wrought, as theirs were, with choice phrases and expressions, nor adorned, but you shall hear a speech uttered without premeditation, in such words as first present themselves. For I am confident that what I say will be just, and let none of you expect otherwise; for surely it would not become my time of life to come before you like a youth with a got-up speech.

Above all things, therefore, I beg and implore this of you, O Athenians, if you hear me defending myself in the same language as that in which I am accustomed to speak both in the forum at the counters, where many of you have heard me, and elsewhere, not to be surprised or disturbed on this account. For the case is this: I now for the first time come

before a court of justice, though more than seventy years old; I am, therefore, utterly a stranger to the language here. As, then, if I were really a stranger, you would have pardoned me if I spoke in the language and the manner in which I had been educated, so now I ask this of you as an act of justice, as it appears to me, to disregard the manner of my speech, for perhaps it may be somewhat worse, and perhaps better, and to consider this only, and to give your attention to this, whether I speak what is just or not; for this is the virtue of a judge, but of an orator to speak the truth.

First then, O Athenians, I am right in defending myself against the first false accusations alleged against me, and my first accusers, and then against the latest accusations, and the latest accusers. For many have been accusers of me to you, and for many years, who have asserted nothing true, of whom I am more afraid than of Anytus and his party, although they too are formidable; but those are still more formidable, Athenians, who, laying hold of many of you from childhood, have persuaded you, and accused me of what is not true,—"that there is one Socrates, a wise man, who occupies himself about celestial matters, and has explored everything under the earth, and makes the worse appear the better reason."

Those, O Athenians, who have spread abroad this report are my formidable accusers; for they who hear them think that such as search into these things do not believe that there are gods. In the next place, these accusers are numerous, and have accused me now for a long time; moreover they said these things to you at that time of life in which you were most credulous, when you were boys and some of you youths, and they accused me altogether in my absence, when there was no one to defend me.

But the most unreasonable thing of all is, that it is not

possible to learn and mention their names, except that one of them happens to be a comic poet. Such, however, as influenced by envy and calumny have persuaded you, and those who, being themselves persuaded, have persuaded others, all these are most difficult to deal with; for it is not possible to bring any of them forward here, nor to confute any; but it is altogether necessary, to fight as it were with a shadow, in making my defence, and to convict when there is no one to answer. Consider, therefore, as I have said, that my accusers are twofold, some who have lately accused me, and others long since, whom I have made mention of; and believe that I ought to defend myself against these first; for you heard them accusing me first, and much more than these last.

Well, I must make my defence then, O Athenians, and endeavor in this so short a space of time to remove from your minds the calumny which you have long entertained. I wish, indeed, it might be so, if it were at all better both for you and me, and that in making my defence I could effect something more advantageous still; I think, however, that it will be difficult, and I am not entirely ignorant what the difficulty is. Nevertheless let this turn out as may be pleasing to God, I must obey the law and make my defence.

Let us then repeat from the beginning what the accusation is from which the calumny against me has arisen, and relying on which Melitus has preferred this indictment against me. Well. What then do they who charge me say in their charge? For it is necessary to read their deposition as of public accusers:

"Socrates acts wickedly, and is criminally curious in searching into things under the earth, and in the heavens, and in making the worse appear the better cause, and in teaching these same things to others."

Such is the accusation; for such things you have yourselves seen in the comedy of Aristophanes, one Socrates there carried about, saying that he walks in the air, and acting many other buffooneries, of which I understand nothing whatever. Nor do I say this as disparaging such a science, if there be any one skilled in such things, only let me not be prosecuted by Melitus on a charge of this kind; but I say it, O Athenians, because I have nothing to do with such matters. And I call upon most of you as witnesses of this, and require you to inform and tell each other, as many of you as have ever heard me conversing; and there are many such among you. Therefore tell each other, if any one of you has ever heard me conversing little or much on such subjects. And from this you will know that other things also, which the multitude assert of me, are of a similar nature.

However not one of these things is true; nor, if you have heard from any one that I attempt to teach men, and require payment, is this true. Though this indeed appears to me to be an honorable thing, if one should be able to instruct men, like Gorgias the Leontine, Prodicus the Cean, and Hippias the Elean. For each of these, O Athenians, is able, by going through the several cities, to persuade the young men, who can attach themselves gratuitously to such of their own fellow citizens as they please, to abandon their fellow citizens and associate with them, giving them money and thanks besides. There is also another wise man here, a Parian, who, I hear, is staying in the city. For I happened to visit a person who spends more money on the sophists than all others together, I mean Callias, son of Hipponicus. I, therefore, asked him, for he has two sons, "Callias," I said, "if your two sons were colts or calves, we should have had to choose a master for them and hire a person who would make them

excel in such qualities as belong to their nature; and he would have been a groom or an agricultural laborer. But now, since your sons are men, what master do you intend to choose for them? Who is there skilled in the qualities that become a man and a citizen? For I suppose you must have considered this, since you have sons. Is there any one," I said, "or not?"

"Certainly," he answered.

"Who is he?" said I, "and whence does he come? and on what terms does he teach?"

He replied, "Evenus the Parian, Socrates, for five minæ."

And I deemed Evenus happy, if he really possesses this art, and teaches so admirably. And I too should think highly of myself and be very proud if I possessed this knowledge; but I possess it not, O Athenians.

Perhaps one of you may now object:

"But, Socrates, what have you done then? Whence have these calumnies against you arisen? For surely if you had not busied yourself more than others, such a report and story would never have got abroad, unless you had done something different from what most men do. Tell us, therefore, what it is, that we may not pass a hasty judgment on you."

He who speaks thus appears to me to speak justly, and I will endeavor to show you what it is that has occasioned me this character and imputation. Listen then: to some of you perhaps I shall appear to jest, yet be assured that I shall tell you the whole truth. For I, O Athenians, have acquired this character through nothing else than a certain wisdom. Of what kind, then, is this wisdom? Perhaps it is merely human wisdom. For in this, in truth, I appear to be wise. They probably, whom I just now mentioned, possessed a wisdom more than human, otherwise I know not what to say about it; for I am not acquainted with it, and whosoever says I am,

speaks falsely and for the purpose of calumniating me. But, O Athenians, do not cry out against me, even though I should seem to you to speak somewhat arrogantly. For the account which I am going to give you is not my own, but I shall refer to an authority whom you will deem worthy of credit. For I shall adduce to you the god at Delphi as a witness of my wisdom, if I have any, and of what it is.

You doubtless know Chærepho: he was my associate from youth, and the associate of most of you; he accompanied you in your late exile and returned with you. You know, then, what kind of a man Chærepho was, how earnest in whatever he undertook. Having once gone to Delphi, he ventured to make the following inquiry of the oracle (and, as I said, O Athenians, do not cry out), for he asked if there was any one wiser than me. The Pythian thereupon answered that there was not one wiser; and of this his brother here will give you proofs, since he himself is dead.

Consider then why I mention these things: it is because I am going to show you whence the calumny against me arose. For when I heard this I reasoned thus with myself, What does the god mean? What enigma is this? For I am not conscious to myself that I am wise, either much or little. What then does he mean by saying that I am the wisest? For assuredly he does not speak falsely; that he cannot do. And for a long time I was in doubt what he meant; afterward with considerable difficulty I had recourse to the following method of searching out his meaning.

I went to one of those who have the character of being wise, thinking that there, if anywhere, I should confute the oracle, and show in answer to the response that this man is wiser than I, though you affirmed that I was the wisest.

Having then examined this man (for there is no occasion

to mention his name, he was, however, one of our great politicians, in examining whom I felt as I proceed to describe, O Athenians), having fallen into conversation with him, this man appeared to me to be wise in the opinion of most other men, and especially in his own opinion, though in fact he was no so. I thereupon endeavored to show him that he fancied himself to be wise, but really was not. Hence I became odious both to him and to many others who were present. When I left him I reasoned thus with myself I am wiser than this man, for neither of us appear to know anything great and good; but he fancies he knows something, although he knows nothing, whereas I, as I do not know anything, so I do not fancy I do. In this trifling particular, then, I appear to be wiser than he, because I do not fancy I know what I do not know.

After that I went to another who was thought to be wiser than the former, and formed the very same opinion. Hence I became odious to him and to many others.

After this I went to others in turn, perceiving indeed and grieving and alarmed that I was making myself odious; however it appeared necessary to regard the oracle of the god as of the greatest moment, and that in order to discover its meaning I must go to all who had the reputation of possessing any knowledge. And by the dog, O Athenians, for I must tell you the truth, I came to some such conclusion as this: those who bore the highest reputation appeared to me to be most deficient, in my researches in obedience to the god, and others who were considered inferior, more nearly approaching to the possession of understanding.

But I must relate to you my wandering, and the labors which I underwent, in order that the oracle might prove incontrovertible. For after the politicians I went to the poets

as well the tragic as the dithyrambic and others, expecting that here I should in very fact find myself more ignorant than them. Taking up, therefore, some of their poems, which appeared to me most elaborately finished, I questioned them as to their meaning, that at the same time I might learn something from them. I am ashamed, O Athenians, to tell you the truth; however, it must be told. For, in a word, almost all who were present could have given a better account of them than those by whom they had been composed. I soon discovered this, therefore, with regard to the poets, that they do not effect their object by wisdom, but by a certain natural inspiration and under the influence of enthusiasm like prophets and seers; for these also say many fine things, but they understand nothing that they say. The poets appeared to me to be affected in a similar manner; and at the same time I perceived that they considered themselves, on account of their poetry, to be the wisest of men in other things, in which they were not. I left them, therefore, under the persuasion that I was superior to them in the same way that I was to the politicians.

At last, therefore, I went to the artisans. For I was conscious to myself that I knew scarcely anything, but I was sure that I should find them possessed of much beautiful knowledge. And in this I was not deceived; for they know things which I did not, and in this respect they were wiser than me. But, O Athenians, even the best workmen appeared to me to have fallen into the same error as the poets; for each, because he excelled in the practice of his art, thought that he was very wise in other most important matters, and this mistake of theirs obscured the wisdom that they really possessed. I therefore asked myself in behalf of the oracle whether I should prefer to continue as I am, possessing none

either of their wisdom or their ignorance, or to have both as they have. I answered, therefore, to myself and to the oracle, that it was better for me to continue as I am.

From this investigation, then, O Athenians, many enmities have arisen against me, and those the most grievous and severe, so that many calumnies have sprung from them and amongst them this appellation of being wise. For those who are from time to time present think that I am wise in those things with respect to which I expose the ignorance of others. The god, however, O Athenians, appears to be really wise, and to mean this by his oracle, that human wisdom is worth little or nothing; and it is clear that he did not say this of Socrates, but made use of my name, putting me forward as an example, as if he had said that man is the wisest among you who, like Socrates, knows that he is in reality worth nothing with respect to wisdom. Still therefore I go about and search and inquire into these things, in obedience to the god, both among citizens and strangers, if I think any one of them is wise; and when he appears to me not to be so, I take the part of the god and show that he is not wise. And in consequence of this occupation I have no leisure to attend in any considerable degree to the affairs of the state or my own; but I am in the greatest poverty through my devotion to the service of the god.

In addition to this, young men, who have much leisure and belong to the wealthiest families, following me of their own accord, take great delight in hearing men put to the test, and often imitate me, and themselves attempt to put others to the test: and then, I think, they find a great abundance of men who fancy they know something, although they know little or nothing. Hence those who are put to the test by them are angry with me, and not with them, and say that "there is one Socrates, a most pestilent fellow, who corrupts the youth."

And when any one asks them by doing or teaching what, they have nothing to say, for they do not know: but that they may not seem to be at a loss they say such things as are ready at hand against all philosophers: "that he searches into things in heaven and things under the earth, that he does not believe there are gods, and that he makes the worse appear the better reason." For they would not, I think, be willing to tell the truth, that they have been detected in pretending to possess knowledge, whereas they know nothing. Therefore, I think, being ambitious and vehement and numerous, and speaking systematically and persuasively about me, they have filled your ears, for a long time and diligently calumniating me. From amongst these, Melitus, Anytus, and Lycon have attacked me; Melitus being angry on account of the poets, Anytus on account of the artisans and politicians, and Lycon on account of the rhetoricians.

So that, as I said in the beginning, I should wonder if I were able in so short a time to remove from your minds a calumny that has prevailed so long. This, O Athenians, is the truth; and I speak it without concealing or disguising anything from you, much or little; though I very well know that by so doing I shall expose myself to odium. This, however, is a proof that I speak the truth, and that this is the nature of the calumny against me, and that these are its causes. And if you will investigate the matter, either now or hereafter, you will find it to be so.

With respect then to the charges which my first accusers have alleged against me, let this be a sufficient apology to you. To Melitus, that good and patriotic man, as he says, and to my later accusers, I will next endeavor to give an answer; and here again, as there are different accusers, let us take up their deposition. It is pretty much as follows: "Socrates," it says,

"acts unjustly in corrupting the youth, and in not believing in those gods in whom the city believes, but in other strange divinities." Such is the accusation; let us examine each particular of it. It says that I act unjustly in corrupting the youth. But I, O Athenians, say that Melitus acts unjustly, because he jests on serious subjects, rashly putting men upon trial under pretence of being zealous and solicitous about things in which he never at any time took any concern. But that this is the case I will endeavor to prove to you.

Come then, Melitus, tell me; do you not consider it of the greatest importance that the youth should be made as virtuous as possible?

Mel. I do.

Socr. Well now, tell the judges who it is that makes them better, for it is evident that you know, since it concerns you so much: for, having detected me in corrupting them, as you say, you have cited me here and accused me; come then, say, and inform the judges who it is that makes them better. Do you see, Melitus, that you are silent and have nothing to say? But does it not appear to you to be disgraceful and a sufficient proof of what I say, that you never took any concern about the matter? But tell me, friend, who makes them better?

Mel. The laws.

Socr. I do not ask this, most excellent sir, but what man, who surely must first know this very thing, the laws?

Mel. These, Socrates, the judges.

Socr. How say you, Melitus? Are these able to instruct the youth and make them better?

Mel. Certainly.

Socr. Whether all, or some of them, and others not?

Mel. All.

Socr. You say well, by Juno, and have found a great

abundance of those that confer benefit. But what further? Can these hearers make them better or not?

Mel. They too can.

Socr. And what of the senators?

Mel. The senators also.

Socr. But, Melitus, do those who attend the public assemblies corrupt the younger men? or do they all make them better?

Mel. They too.

Socr. All the Athenians therefore, as it seems, make them honorable and good, except me, but I alone corrupt them. Do you say so?

Mel. I do assert this very thing.

Socr. You charge me with great ill-fortune. But answer me: does it appear to you to be the same with respect to horses? do all men make them better, and is there only some one that spoils them? or does quite the contrary of this take place? is there some one person who can make them better, or very few, that is the trainers? but if the generality of men should meddle with and make use of horses, do they spoil them? Is not this the case, Melitus, both with respect to horses and all other animals? It certainly is so, whether you and Anytus deny it or not. For it would be a great good-fortune for the youth if only one person corrupted and the rest benefited them. However, Melitus, you have sufficiently shown that you never bestowed any care upon youth; and you clearly evince your own negligence in that you have never paid any attention to the things with respect to which you accuse me.

Tell us further, Melitus, in the name of Jupiter, whether is it better to dwell with good or bad citizens? Answer, my friend: for I ask you nothing difficult. Do not the bad work some evil to those that are continually near them, but the good some good?

Mel. Certainly.

Socr. Is there any one that wishes to be injured rather than benefited by his associates? Answer, good man: for the law requires you to answer. Is there any one who wishes to be injured?

Mel. No, surely.

Socr. Come, then, whether do you accuse me here, as one that corrupts the youth, and makes them more depraved, designedly or undesignedly?

Mel. Designedly, I say.

Socr. What, then, Melitus, are you at your time of life so much wiser than me at my time of life, as to know that the evil are always working some evil to those that are most near to them, and the good some good; but I have arrived at such a pitch of ignorance as not to know that if I make any one of my associates depraved I shall be in danger of receiving some evil from him, and yet I designedly bring about this so great evil, as you say? In this I cannot believe you, Melitus, nor do I think would any other man in the world: but either I do not corrupt the youth, or, if I do corrupt them, I do it undesignedly: so that in both cases you speak falsely. But if I corrupt them undesignedly, for such involuntary offences it is not usual to accuse one here, but to take one apart and teach and admonish one. For it is evident that if I am taught I shall cease doing what I do undesignedly. But you shunned me, and were not willing to associate with and instruct me, but you accuse me here, where it is usual to accuse those who need punishment and not instruction.

Thus, then, O Athenians, this now is clear that I have said, that Melitus never paid any attention to these matters, much or little. However, tell us, Melitus, how you say I corrupt the youth? Is it not evidently, according to the indictment

which you have preferred, by teaching them not to believe in the gods in whom the city believes, but in other strange deities? Do you not say that by teaching these things, I corrupt the youth?

Mel. Certainly I do say so.

Socr. By those very gods, therefore, Melitus, of whom the discussion now is, speak still more clearly both to me and to these men. For I cannot understand whether you say that I teach them to believe that there are certain gods (and in that case I do believe that there are gods, and am not altogether an atheist, nor in this respect to blame), not, however, those which the city believes in, but others, and this it is that you accuse me of, that I introduce others; or do you say outright that I do not myself believe that there are gods, and that I teach others the same?

Mel. I say this, that you do not believe in any gods at all.

Socr. O wonderful Melitus, how come you to say this? Do I not, then, like the rest of mankind, believe that the sun and moon are gods?

Mel. No, by Jupiter, O judges: for he says that the sun is a stone, and the moon an earth.

Socr. You fancy that you are accusing Anaxagoras, my dear Melitus, and thus you put a slight on these men, and suppose them to be so illiterate as not to know that the books of Anaxagoras of Clazomene are full of such assertions. And the young, moreover, learn these things from me, which they might purchase for a drachma, at most, in the orchestra, and so ridicule Socrates if he pretended they were his own, especially since they are so absurd? I ask then, by Jupiter, do I appear to you to believe that there is no god?

Mel. No, by Jupiter, none whatever.

Socr. You say what is incredible, Melitus, and that, as

appears to me, even to yourself. For this man, O Athenians, appears to me to be very insolent and intemperate, and to have preferred this indictment through downright insolence, intemperance, and wantonness. For he seems, as it were, to have composed an enigma for the purpose of making an experiment. Whether will Socrates the wise know that I am jesting, and contradict myself, or shall I deceive him and all who hear me? For in my opinion he clearly contradicts himself in the indictment, as if he should say, Socrates is guilty of wrong in not believing that there are gods, and in believing that there are gods. And this, surely, is the act of one who is trifling.

Consider with me now, Athenians, in what respect he appears to me to say so. And do you, Melitus, answer me; and do ye, as I besought you at the outset, remember not to make an uproar if I speak after my usual manner.

Is there any man, Melitus, who believes that there are human affairs, but does not believe that there are men? Let him answer, judges, and not make so much noise. Is there any one who does not believe that there are horses, but that there are things pertaining to horses? or who does not believe that there are pipers, but that there are things pertaining to pipes? There is not, O best of men: for since you are not willing to answer, I say it to you and to all here present. But answer to this at least: is there any one who believes that there are things relating to demons, but does not believe that there are demons?

Mel. There is not.

Socr. How obliging you are in having hardly answered, though compelled by these judges. You assert then that I do believe and teach things relating to demons, whether they be new or old; therefore, according to your admission, I do believe in things relating to demons, and this you have sworn

in the bill of indictment. If then I believe in things relating to demons, there is surely an absolute necessity that I should believe that there are demons. Is it not so? It is. For I suppose you to assent, since you do not answer. But with respect to demons, do we not allow that they are gods, or the children of gods? Do you admit this or not?

Mel. Certainly.

Socr. Since then I allow that there are demons as you admit, if demons are a kind of gods, this is the point in which I say you speak enigmatically and divert yourself in saying that I do not allow there are gods, and again that I do allow there are, since I allow that there are demons? But if demons are the children of gods, spurious ones, either from nymphs or any others, of whom they are reported to be, what man can think that there are sons of gods, and yet that there are not gods? For it would be just as absurd, as if any one should think that there are mules the offspring of horses and asses, but should not think there are horses and asses. However, Melitus, it cannot be otherwise than that you have preferred this indictment for the purpose of trying me, or because you were at a loss what real crime to allege against me: for that you should persuade any man who has the smallest degree of sense, that the same person can think that there are things relating to demons and to gods, and yet that there are neither demons, nor gods, nor heroes, is utterly impossible.

That I am not guilty then, O Athenians, according to the indictment of Melitus, appears to me not to require a lengthened defence; but what I have said is sufficient. And as to what I said at the beginning, that there is a great enmity toward me among the multitude, be assured it is true. And this it is which will condemn me, if I am condemned, not Melitus, nor Anytus, but the calumny and envy of the multi-

tude, which have already condemned many others, and those good men, and will I think condemn others also; for there is no danger that it will stop with me.

Perhaps, however, some one may say, "Are you not ashamed, Socrates, to have pursued a study from which you are now in danger of dying?" To such a person I should answer with good reason, You do not say well, friend, if you think that a man, who is even of the least value, ought to take into the account the risk of life or death, and ought not to consider that alone when he performs any action, whether he is acting justly or unjustly and the part of a good man or bad man. For according to your reasoning all those demi-gods that died at Troy would be vile characters, as well all the rest as the son of Thetis, who so far despised danger in comparison of submitting to disgrace, that when his mother, who was a goddess, spoke to him, in his impatience to kill Hector, something to this effect, as I think, "My son, if you revenge the death of your friend Patroclus, and slay Hector, you will yourself die, for," she said, "death awaits you immediately after Hector." But he, on hearing this, despised death and danger, and, dreading much more to live as a coward and not avenge his friends, said: "May I die immediately, when I have inflicted punishment on the guilty, that I may not stay here an object of ridicule, by the curved ships, a burden to the ground?" Do you think that he cared for death and danger? For thus it is, O Athenians, in truth; wherever any one has posted himself, either thinking it to be better, or has been posted by his chief, there, as it appears to me, he ought to remain and meet danger, taking no account either of death or anything else in comparison with disgrace.

I then should be acting strangely, O Athenians, if, when the generals whom you chose to command me assigned me my

post at Potidæa, at Amphipolis, and at Delium, I then remained where they posted me, like any other person, and encountered the danger of death, but when the deity, as I thought and believed, assigned it as my duty to pass my life in the study of philosophy, and in examining myself and others, I should on that occasion, through fear of death or anything else whatsoever, desert my post. Strange indeed would it be, and then in truth any one might justly bring me to trial, and accuse me of not believing in the gods, from disobeying the oracle, fearing death, and thinking myself to be wise when I am not.

For to fear death, O Athenians, is nothing else than to appear to be wise without being so; for it is to appear to know what one does not know. For no one knows but that death is the greatest of all goods to man; but men fear it as if they well knew that it is the greatest of evils. And how is not this the most reprehensible ignorance, to think that one knows what one does not know?

But I, O Athenians, in this perhaps differ from most men; and if I should say that I am in anything wiser than another, it would be in this, that not having a competent knowledge of the things in Hades, I also think that I have not such knowledge. But to act unjustly, and to disobey my superior, whether God or man, I know is evil and base. I shall never, therefore, fear or shun things which, for aught I know, may be good, before evils which I know to be evils. So that even if you should now dismiss me, not yielding to the instances of Anytus, who said that either I should not appear here at all, or that, if I did appear, it was impossible not to put me to death, telling you that if I escaped, your sons, studying what Socrates teaches, would all be utterly corrupted; if you should address me thus, "Socrates, we shall not now yield to Anytus,

but dismiss you, on this condition, however, that you no longer persevere in your researches nor study philosophy, and if hereafter you are detected in so doing, you shall die,"—if, as I said, you should dismiss me on these terms, I should say to you:

"O Athenians, I honor and love you; but I shall obey God rather than you; and as long as I breathe and am able I shall not cease studying philosophy and exhorting you and warning any one of you I may happen to meet, saying, as I have been accustomed to do: 'O best of men, seeing you are an Athenian, of a city the most powerful and most renowned for wisdom and strength, are you not ashamed of being careful for riches, how you may acquire them in greatest abundance, and for glory and honor, but care not nor take any thought for wisdom and truth, and for your soul, how it may be made most perfect?'" And if any one of you should question my assertion and affirm that he does care for these things, I shall not at once let him go, nor depart, but I shall question him, sift and prove him. And if he should appear to me not to possess virtue, but to pretend that he does, I shall reproach him for that he sets the least value on things of the greatest worth, but the highest on things that are worthless.

Thus I shall act to all whom I meet, both young and old, stranger and citizen, but rather to you my fellow citizens, because ye are more nearly allied to me. For be well assured, this the deity commands. And I think that no greater good has ever befallen you in the city than my zeal for the service of the god. For I go about doing nothing else than persuading you, both young and old, to take no care either for the body, or for riches, prior to or so much as for the soul, how it may be made most perfect, telling you that virtue

does not spring from riches, but riches and all other human blessings, both private and public, from virtue. If, then, by saying these things, I corrupt the youth, these things must be mischievous; but if any one says that I speak other things than these, he misleads you. Therefore I must say, O Athenians, either yield to Anytus or do not, either dismiss me or not, since I shall not act otherwise, even though I must die many deaths.

Murmur not, O Athenians, but continue to attend to my request, not to murmur at what I say, but to listen, for, as I think, you will derive benefit from listening. For I am going to say other things to you, at which perhaps you will raise a clamor; but on no account do so. Be well assured, then, if you put me to death, being such a man as I say I am, you will not injure me more than yourselves. For neither will Melitus nor Anytus harm me; nor have they the power; for I do not think that it is possible for a better man to be injured by a worse. He may perhaps have me condemned to death, or banished or deprived of civil rights; and he or others may perhaps consider these as mighty evils; I, however, do not consider them so, but that it is much more so to do what he is now doing — to endeavor to put a man to death unjustly.

Now, therefore, O Athenians, I am far from making a defence on my own behalf, as any one might think, but I do so on your behalf, lest by condemning me you should offend at all with respect to the gift of the deity to you. For, if you should put me to death, you will not easily find such another, though it may be ridiculous to say so, altogether attached by the deity to this city as to a powerful and generous horse, somewhat sluggish from his size, and requiring to be roused by a gad-fly; so the deity appears to have united me, being such a person as I am, to the city, that I may rouse

you, and persuade and reprove every one of you, nor ever cease besetting you throughout the whole day. Such another man, O Athenians, will not easily be found; therefore, if you will take my advice, you will spare me.

But you, perhaps, being irritated, like drowsy persons who are roused from sleep, will strike me, and, yielding to Anytus, will unthinkingly condemn me to death; and then you will pass the rest of your life in sleep, unless the deity, caring for you, should send some one else to you. But that I am a person who has been given by the deity to this city, you may discern from hence; for it is not like the ordinary conduct of men that I should have neglected all my own affairs and suffered my private interest to be neglected for so many years, and that I should constantly attend to your concerns, addressing myself to each of you separately, like a father or elder brother, persuading you to the pursuit of virtue. And if I had derived any profit from this course, and had received pay for my exhortations, there would have been some reason for my conduct; but now you see yourselves that my accusers, who have so shamelessly calumniated me in everything else, have not had the impudence to charge me with this, and to bring witnesses to prove that I ever either exacted or demanded any reward. And I think I produce a sufficient proof that I speak the truth, namely, my poverty.

Perhaps, however, it may appear absurd, that I, going about, thus advise you in private and make myself busy, but never venture to present myself in public before your assemblies and give advice to the city. The cause of this is that which you have often and in many places heard me mention: because I am moved by a certain divine and spiritual influence, which also Melitus, through mockery, has set out in the indictment. This began with me from childhood, being a kind of

voice which, when present, always diverts me from what I am about to do, but never urges me on. This it is which opposed my meddling in public politics; and it appears to me to have opposed me very properly. For be well assured, O Athenians, if I had long since attempted to intermeddle with politics, I should have perished long ago, and should not have at all benefited you or myself. And be not angry with me for speaking the truth. For it is not possible that any man should be safe, who sincerely opposes either you, or any other multitude, and who prevents many unjust and illegal actions from being committed in a city; but it is necessary that he who in earnest contends for justice, if he will be safe for but a short time, should live privately, and take no part in public affairs.

I will give you strong proofs of this, not words, but, what you value, facts. Hear then what has happened to me, that you may know that I would not yield to any one contrary to what is just, through fear of death, at the same time that, by not yielding, I must perish. I shall tell you what will be displeasing and wearisome, yet true. For I, O Athenians, never bore any other magisterial office in the city, but have been a senator: and our Antiochean tribe happened to supply the Prytanes when you chose to condemn in a body the ten generals, who had not taken off those that perished in the sea-fight, in violation of the law, as you afterwards all thought. At that time I alone of the Prytanes opposed your doing anything contrary to the laws, and I voted against you; and when the orators were ready to denounce me, and to carry me before a magistrate, and you urged and cheered them on, I thought I ought rather to meet the danger with law and justice on my side than, through fear of imprisonment or death, to take part with you in your unjust designs. And this happened while the city was governed by a democracy. But when it became

an oligarchy, the Thirty, having sent for me with four others to the Tholus, ordered us to bring Leon the Salaminian from Salamis, that he might be put to death; and they gave many similar orders to many others, wishing to involve as many as they could in guilt. Then, however, I showed, not in word, but in deed, that I did not care for death, if the expression be not too rude, in the smallest degree, but that all my care was to do nothing unjust or unholy. For that government, strong as it was, did not so overawe me as to make me commit an unjust action; but when we came out from the Tholus, the four went to Salamis and brought back Leon; but I went away home. And perhaps for this I should have been put to death if that government had not been speedily broken up. And of this you can have many witnesses.

Do you think, then, that I should have survived so many years if I had engaged in public affairs, and, acting as becomes a good man, had aided the cause of justice, and, as I ought, had deemed this of the highest importance? Far from it, O Athenians: nor would any other man have done so. But I, through the whole of my life, if I have done anything in public, shall be found to be a man, and the very same in private, who has never made a concession to any one contrary to justice, neither to any other, nor to any one of these whom my calumniators say are my disciples. I, however, was never the preceptor of any one; but if any one desired to hear me speaking and to see me busied about my own mission, whether he were young or old, I never refused him. Nor do I discourse when I receive money, and not when I do not receive any, but I allow both rich and poor alike to question me, and, if any one wishes it, to answer me and hear what I have to say. And for these, whether any one proves to be a good man or not, I cannot justly be responsible, because I never either

promised them any instruction or taught them at all. But if any one says that he has ever learned or heard anything from me in private, which all others have not, be well assured that he does not speak the truth.

But why do some delight to spend so long a time with me? Ye have heard, O Athenians. I have told you the whole truth, that they delight to hear those closely questioned who think that they are wise but are not: for this is by no means disagreeable. But this duty, as I say, has been enjoined me by the deity, by oracles, by dreams, and by every mode by which any other divine decree has ever enjoined anything to man to do. These things, O Athenians, are both true, and easily confuted if not true. For if I am now corrupting some of the youths, and have already corrupted others, it were fitting, surely, that if any of them, having become advanced in life, had discovered that I gave them bad advice when they were young, they should now rise up against me, accuse me, and have me punished; or if they were themselves unwilling to do this, some of their kindred, their fathers, or brothers, or other relatives, if their kinsmen have ever sustained any damage from me, should now call it to mind.

Many of them, however, are here present, whom I see: first, Crito, my contemporary and fellow-burgher, father of this Critobulus; then, Lysanias of Sphettus, father of this Æschines; again, Antiphon of Cephisus, father of Epigenes; there are those others too, whose brothers maintained the same intimacy with me, namely, Nicostratus, son of Theosdotidus, brother of Theodotus,— Theodotus indeed is dead, so that he could not deprecate his brother's proceedings,— and Paralus here, son of Demodocus, whose brother was Theages; and Adimantus son of Ariston, whose brother is this Plato; and Æantodorus, whose brother is this Apollodorus.

I could also mention many others to you, some one of whom certainly Melitus ought to have adduced in his speech as a witness. If, however, he then forgot to do so, let him now adduce them, I give him leave to do so, and let him say it, if he has anything of the kind to allege. But quite contrary to this, you will find, O Athenians, all ready to assist me, who have corrupted and injured their relatives, as Melitus and Anytus say. For those who have been themselves corrupted might perhaps have some reason for assisting me; but those who have not been corrupted, men now advanced in life, their relatives, what other reason can they have for assisting me, except that right and just one, that they know that Melitus speaks falsely and that I speak the truth.

Well then, Athenians; these are pretty much the things I have to say in my defence, and others perhaps of the same kind. Perhaps, however, some among you will be indignant on recollecting his own case, if he, when engaged in a cause far less than this, implored and besought the judges with many tears, bringing forward his children in order that he might excite their utmost compassion, and many others of his relatives and friends, whereas I do none of these things, although I may appear to be incurring the extremity of danger. Perhaps, therefore, some one, taking notice of this, may become more determined against me, and, being enraged at this very conduct of mine, may give his vote under the influence of anger. If then any one of you is thus affected — I do not, however, suppose that there is — but if there should be, I think I may reasonably say to him; "I too, O best of men, have relatives; for to make use of that saying of Homer, I am not sprung from an oak, nor from a rock, but from men, so that I too, O Athenians, have relatives, and three sons, one now grown up, and two boys; I shall not, however, bring

any one of them forward and implore you to acquit me." Why then shall I not do this?

Not from contumacy, O Athenians, nor disrespect towards you. Whether or not I am undaunted at the prospect of death, is another question, but out of regard to my own character, and yours, and that of the whole city, it does not appear to me to be honorable that I should do anything of this kind at my age, and with the reputation I have, whether true or false. For it is commonly agreed that Socrates in some respects excels the generality of men. If, then, those among you who appear to excel either in wisdom, or fortitude, or any other virtue whatsoever, should act in such a manner as I have often seen some when they have been brought to trial, it would be shameful, who, appearing indeed to be something, have conducted themselves in a surprising manner, as thinking they should suffer something dreadful by dying, and as if they would be immortal if you did not put them to death. Such men appear to me to bring disgrace on the city, so that any stranger might suppose that such of the Athenians as excel in virtue, and whom they themselves choose in preference to themselves for magistracies and other honors, are in no respect superior to women.

For these things, O Athenians, neither ought we to do who have attained to any height of reputation, nor, should we do them, ought you to suffer us; but you should make this manifest, that you will much rather condemn him who introduces these piteous dramas, and makes the city ridiculous, than him who quietly awaits your decision.

But reputation apart, O Athenians, it does not appear to me to be right to entreat a judge, or to escape by entreaty, but one ought to inform and persuade him. For a judge does not sit for the purpose of administering justice out

of favor, but that he may judge rightly, and he is sworn not to show favor to whom he pleases, but that he will decide according to the laws. It is therefore right that neither should we accustom you, nor should you accustom yourselves to violate your oaths; for in so doing neither of us would act righteously.

Think not then, O Athenians, that I ought to adopt such a course towards you as I neither consider honorable, nor just, nor holy, as well, by Jupiter, on any other occasion, and now especially when I am accused of impiety by this Miletus. For clearly, if I should persuade you, and by my entreaties should put a constraint on you who are bound by an oath, I should teach you to think that there are no gods, and in reality, while making my defence, should accuse myself of not believing in the gods. This, however, is far from being the case: for I believe, O Athenians, as none of my accusers do, and I leave it to you and to the deity to judge concerning me in such way as will be best both for me and for you.

[Socrates here concludes his defence, and, the votes being taken, he is declared guilty by a majority of voices. He thereupon resumes his address.]

That I should not be grieved, O Athenians, at what has happened, namely, that you have condemned me, as well many other circumstances concur in bringing to pass, and moreover this, that what has happened has not happened contrary to my expectation; but I much rather wonder at the number of votes on either side. For I did not expect that I should be condemned by so small a number, but by a large majority; but now, as it seems, if only three more votes had changed sides, I should have been acquitted. As far as Melitus is concerned, as it appears to me, I have been already acquitted, and not only have I been acquitted, but it is clear

to every one that had not Anytus and Lycon come forward to accuse me, he would have been fined a thousand drachmas, for not having obtained a fifth part of the votes.

The man then awards me the penalty of death. Well. But what shall I, on my part, O Athenians, award myself? Is it not clear that it will be such as I deserve? What then is that? do I deserve to suffer or to pay a fine, for that I have purposely during my life not remained quiet, but, neglecting what most men seek after,—money-making, domestic concerns, military command, popular oratory, and moreover all the magistracies, conspiracies and cabals that are met with in the city,— thinking that I was in reality too upright a man to be safe if I took part in such things, I therefore did not apply myself to those pursuits, by attending to which I should have been of no service either to you or to myself; but in order to confer the greatest benefit on each of you privately, as I affirm, I thereupon applied myself to that object, endeavoring to persuade every one of you not to take any care of his own affairs, before he had taken care of himself, in what way he may become the best and wisest, nor of the affairs of the city before he took care of the city itself; and that he should attend to other things in the same manner.

What treatment then do I deserve, seeing I am such a man? Some reward, O Athenians, if at least I am to be estimated according to my real deserts; and moreover such a reward as would be suitable to me. What then is suitable to a poor man, a benefactor, and who has need of leisure in order to give you good advice? There is nothing so suitable, O Athenians, as that such a man should be maintained in the Prytaneum, and this much more than if one of you had been victorious at the Olympic games in a horse race, or in the two or four-horsed chariot race: for such a one makes you appear

to be happy, but I, to be so: and he does not need support, but I do. If, therefore, I must award a sentence according to my just deserts, I award this, maintenance in the Prytaneum.

Perhaps, however, in speaking to you thus, I appear to you to speak in the same presumptuous manner as I did respecting commiseration and entreaties: but such is not the case, O Athenians, it is rather this. I am persuaded that I never designedly injured any man, though I cannot persuade you of this, for we have conversed with each other but for a short time. For if there was the same law with you as with other men, that in capital cases the trial should last not only one day but many, I think you would be persuaded; but it is not easy in a short time to do away with great calumnies.

Being persuaded then that I have injured no one, I am far from intending to injure myself, and of pronouncing against myself that I am deserving of punishment, and from awarding myself anything of the kind. Through fear of what? lest I should suffer that which Melitus awards me, of which I say I know not whether it be good or evil? instead of this, shall I choose what I well know to be evil, and award that? Shall I choose imprisonment? And why should I live in prison, a slave to the established magistracy, the Eleven? Shall I choose a fine, and to be imprisoned until I have paid it? But this is the same as that which I just now mentioned, for I have not money to pay it. Shall I then award myself exile? For perhaps you would consent to this award. I should indeed be very fond of life, O Athenians, if I were so devoid of reason as not to be able to reflect that you, who are my fellow citizens, have been unable to endure my manner of life and discourses, but they have become so burdensome and odious to you, that you now seek to be rid of them; others, however, will easily bear them; far from it, O Athenians.

A fine life it would be for me at my age to go out wandering and driven from city to city, and so to live. For I well know that, wherever I may go, the youth will listen to me when I speak, as they do here. And if I repulse them they will themselves drive me out, persuading the elders; and if I do not repulse them, their fathers and kindred will banish me on their account.

Perhaps, however, some one will say, Can you not, Socrates, when you have gone from us, live a silent and quiet life? This is the most difficult thing of all to persuade some of you. For if I say that that would be to disobey the deity, and that therefore it is impossible for me to live quietly, you would not believe me, thinking I spoke ironically. If, on the other hand, I say that this is the greatest good to man, to discourse daily on virtue, and other things which you have heard me discussing, examining both myself and others, but that a life without investigation is not worth living for, still less would you believe me if I said this. Such, however, is the case, as I affirm, O Athenians, though it is not easy to persuade you. And at the same time I am not accustomed to think myself deserving of any ill.

If indeed I were rich, I would amerce myself in such a sum as I should be able to pay; for then I should have suffered no harm, but now — for I cannot, unless you are willing to amerce me in such a sum as I am able to pay. But perhaps I could pay you a mina of silver; in that sum then I amerce myself. But Plato here, O Athenians, and Crito, Critobulus, and Apollodorus bid me amerce myself in thirty minæ, and they offer to be sureties. I amerce myself then to you in that sum; and they will be sufficient sureties for the money.

[The judges now proceeded to pass the sentence, and condemned Socrates to death; whereupon he continued:]

For the sake of no long space of time, O Athenians, you will incur the character and reproach at the hands of those who wish to defame the city, of having put that wise man, Socrates, to death. For those who wish to defame you will assert that I am wise, though I am not. If, then, you had waited for a short time, this would have happened of its own accord; for observe my age, that it is far advanced in life, and near death. But I say this not to you all, but to those only who have condemned me to die. And I say this too to the same persons. Perhaps you think, O Athenians, that I have been convicted through the want of arguments, by which I might have persuaded you, had I thought it right to do and say anything so that I might escape punishment. Far otherwise: I have been convicted through want indeed, yet not of arguments, but of audacity and impudence, and of the inclination to say such things to you as would have been most agreeable for you to hear, had I lamented and bewailed and done and said many other things unworthy of me, as I affirm, but such as you are accustomed to hear from others.

But neither did I then think that I ought, for the sake of avoiding danger, to do anything unworthy of a freeman, nor do I now repent of having so defended myself; but I should much rather choose to die having so defended myself than to live in that way. For neither in a trial nor in battle is it right that I or any one else should employ every possible means whereby he may avoid death; for in battle it is frequently evident that a man might escape death by laying down his arms and throwing himself on the mercy of his pursuers. And there are many other devices in every danger, by which to avoid death, if a man dares to do and say everything.

But this is not difficult, O Athenians, to escape death, but it is much more difficult to avoid depravity, for it runs swifter

than death. And now I, being slow and aged, am overtaken by the slower of the two; but my accusers, being strong and active, have been overtaken by the swifter, wickedness. And now I depart, condemned by you to death; but they condemned by truth, as guilty of iniquity and injustice: and I abide my sentence and so do they. These things, perhaps, ought so to be, and I think that they are for the best.

In the next place, I desire to predict to you who have condemned me, what will be your fate: for I am now in that condition in which men most frequently prophecy, namely, when they are about to die. I say then to you, O Athenians, who have condemned me to death, that immediately after my death a punishment will overtake you, far more severe, by Jupiter, than that which you have inflicted on me. For you have done this thinking you should be freed from the necessity of giving an account of your life. The very contrary however, as I affirm, will happen to you. Your accusers will be more numerous, whom I have now restrained, though you did not perceive it; and they will be more severe, inasmuch as they are younger and you will be more indignant. For, if you think that by putting men to death you will restrain any one from upbraiding you because you do not live well, you are much mistaken; for this method of escape is neither possible nor honorable, but that other is most honorable and most easy, not to put a check upon others, but for a man to take heed to himself, how he may be most perfect. Having predicted thus much to those of you who have condemned me, I take my leave of you.

But with you who have voted for my acquittal, I would gladly hold converse on what has now taken place, while the magistrates are busy and I am not yet carried to the place where I must die. Stay with me then, so long, O Athenians,

for nothing hinders our conversing with each other, whilst we are permitted to do so; for I wish to make known to you, as being my friends, the meaning of that which has just now befallen me. To me then, O my judges,—and in calling you judges I call you rightly,—a strange thing has happened. For the wonted prophetic voice of my guardian deity, on every former occasion, even in the most trifling affairs, opposed me, if I was about to do anything wrong; but now, that has befallen me which ye yourselves behold, and which any one would think and which is supposed to be the extremity of evil, yet neither when I departed from home in the morning did the warning of the god oppose me, nor when I came up here to the place of trial, nor in my address when I was about to say anything; yet on other occasions it has frequently restrained me in the midst of speaking. But now it has never throughout this proceeding opposed me, either in what I did or said. What then do I suppose to be the cause of this? I will tell you: what has befallen me appears to be a blessing; and it is impossible that we think rightly who suppose that death is an evil. A great proof of this to me is the fact that it is impossible but that the accustomed signal should have opposed me, unless I had been about to meet with some good.

Moreover, we may hence conclude that there is great hope that death is a blessing. For to die is one of two things: for either the dead may be annihilated and have no sensation of anything whatever; or, as it is said, there is a certain change and passage of the soul from one place to another. And if it is a privation of all sensation, as it were, a sleep in which the sleeper has no dream, death would be a wonderful gain. For I think that if any one, having selected a night in which he slept so soundly as not to have had a dream, and having compared this night with all the other nights and days

of his life, should be required on consideration to say how many days and nights he had passed better and more pleasantly than this night throughout his life, I think that not only a private person, but even a great king himself would find them easy to number in comparison with other days and nights. If, therefore, death is a thing of this kind, I say it is a gain; for thus all futurity appears to be nothing more than one night.

But if, on the other hand, death is a removal from hence to another place, and what is said be true, that all the dead are there, what greater blessing can there be than this, my judges? For if, on arriving at Hades, released from these who pretend to be judges, one shall find those who are true judges, and who are said to judge there, Minos and Rhadamanthus, Æacus and Triptolemus, and such others of the demigods as were just during their own life, would this be a sad removal? At what price would you not estimate a conference with Orpheus and Musæus, Hesiod and Homer? I indeed should be willing to die often, if this be true. For to me the sojourn there would be admirable, when I should meet with Palamedes, and Ajax, son of Telamon, and any other of the ancients who has died by an unjust sentence. The comparing my sufferings with theirs would, I think, be no unpleasing occupation. But the greatest pleasure would be to spend my time in questioning and examining the people there as I have done those here, and discovering who among them is wise, and who fancies himself to be so but is not. At what price, my judges, would not any one estimate the opportunity of questioning him who led that mighty army against Troy, or Ulysses, or Sisyphus, or ten thousand others, whom one might mention, both men and women? with whom to converse and associate, and to question them, would be an inconceivable happiness. Surely for that the judges there do not condemn to death; for in other respects

those who live there are more happy than those that are here, and are henceforth immortal, if at least what is said be true.

You, therefore, O my judges, ought to entertain good hopes with respect to death, and to meditate on this one truth, that to a good man nothing is evil, neither while living nor when dead, nor are his concerns neglected by the gods. And what has befallen me is not the effect of chance; but this is clear to me, that now to die, and be freed from my cares, is better for me. On this account the warning in no way turned me aside; and I bear no resentment towards those who condemned me, or against my accusers, although they did not condemn and accuse me with this intention, but thinking to injure me: in this they deserve to be blamed.

Thus much, however, I beg of them. Punish my sons, when they grow up, O judges, paining them as I have pained you, if they appear to you to care for riches or anything else before virtue, and if they think themselves to be something when they are nothing, reproach them as I have done you, for not attending to what they ought, and for conceiving themselves to be something when they are worth nothing. If ye do this, both I and my sons shall have met with just treatment at your hands.

But it is now time to depart,— for me to die, for you to live. But which of us is going to a better state is unknown to every one but God.

[Translated from Plato by Henry Cary, M.A.]

ANDOCIDES

ANDOCIDES, the second of the ten Attic orators, was born of a noble family at Athens about 440 B.C. He served the state as an ambassador on several occasions. At the age of twenty-five he was banished on the charge of profaning the Mysteries and mutilating the statues of Hermes, and sixteen years later was tried for the offence and formally acquitted. "History," says Professor Jebb, "knows him only under a cloud." He seems to have been endowed with an abundance of practical good sense, though nothing of genius appeared in him, and while in exile he rendered valuable services to the state. His talents as an orator were most probably developed in the popular assembly rather than in any school of rhetoric, and his speeches, for that reason, perhaps, are devoid of mannerisms and are straightforward in character as well as unornamented. The best of his four orations is that "On the Mysteries." The others are "On the Return," which is very brief; "On Alcibiades," of doubtful authenticity, and "On the Peace with Lacedæmon." As related to the history of the time the importance of these orations is considerable.

SPEECH ON THE MYSTERIES

[Andocides, upon his return to Athens, was accused of having profaned the Mysteries and mutilated the Hermæ. Against this charge of impiety he defended himself in the following speech:]

THE preparation and zeal of my enemies, gentlemen, to do me harm in every way, justly or unjustly, from the very time I arrived in this city, are by no means unknown to you. It is therefore unnecessary for me to speak at length on this matter. I shall make of you, however, a request that is both just and as easy for you to grant as it is important for me to obtain. I ask you to bear in mind that I have come here now, when there was no necessity of my remaining in the city, and although I did not offer bail, and was not committed to prison. I have appeared before you simply because I have confidence in the justice of my cause,

and firmly believe that you will decide fairly, and will rather justly acquit me in accordance with your laws and your oaths, than suffer me to be unjustly destroyed by my enemies.

It is only natural, gentlemen, that you should have the same opinion of a man that he has of himself. If he is unwilling to undergo trial and thus condemns himself, it is only reasonable that you too should condemn him. But if, confident in his innocence, he awaits your judgment, you should be predisposed to acquit him. At least you ought not to condemn him by a premature verdict of guilty.

My enemies are reported to have said that I would not dare to undergo trial, but would seek safety in flight. "For what object," they say, "can Andocides have in submitting to trial when it is possible for him to leave the city and have all the necessaries and conveniences of life elsewhere? In Cyprus, where he formerly lived, he has a large amount of good land, bestowed on him as a gift. Can he, then, be willing to put his life in jeopardy? For what purpose? Does he not perceive the feeling of our city towards him?"

My feeling in this matter, gentlemen, is very different from what my enemies suppose. Even though I do not, as these men assert, share the good will of my countrymen, I am unwilling to live elsewhere in affluence — an exile from my native land. I should much prefer to be a citizen of this commonwealth than of all others, however prosperous they may now seem to be. It is with such a feeling of patriotism that I entrust my life to your decision.

I ask you, then, gentlemen, to accord me in my defence a preponderance of your good will, since you know that, even if you grant both parties to the suit an impartial hearing, I, the defendant, must necessarily be at a disadvantage. For the prosecution, after long preparation, bring this indictment

against me without danger to themselves. But I must make my defence in fear and trembling for my life, and weighed down by the obloquy that has been heaped upon me. It is, therefore, only reasonable that you should favor me rather than the prosecution. There is a further consideration to dispose you in my favor. Prosecutors have frequently been found to bring charges so palpably false that you could not but convict and punish them. Witnesses, too, who have been instrumental in bringing about the condemnation of innocent men, have been convicted only after it was too late to save the guiltless victims of their false testimony. Guided, then, and warned by the experience of the past, you will not take for granted the truth of what my accusers say. The magnitude of the charge against me you can learn from the prosecution; but the truth or falseness of that charge you cannot know until you have heard my defence.

Now, how to begin my defence, gentlemen, perplexes me not a little. I feel considerable doubt whether I ought first to show you that the prosecution have brought the wrong form of action against me; or that the decree of Isotimidas is null and void; or that certain laws and oaths forbid this action; or whether I ought to tell you all the facts from beginning to end. But what most perplexes me is the fact that you do not all perhaps regard as equally serious the same points in the charge against me. Each one of you, I suppose, has in mind some point about which he would like to have me speak first. Since, however, it is impossible to speak of all points at one and the same time, I shall set before you all the facts in order from beginning to end, omitting nothing. For if you get a right understanding of the facts you will readily perceive how false a charge the prosecution have brought against me.

I think, then, that you feel disposed of your own accord to

pronounce a just sentence. And I am led to this conclusion, because I have observed that you always consider it a matter of the greatest importance, both in private and public affairs, to vote according to your oaths. It is this very thing that holds the state together, much against the will of those who would have it otherwise. Confiding, then, in your sense of justice, I ask you to hear my defence with good will, and not to act the part of adversaries in this suit. Suspect not the truth of my statements, and ensnare not my words. Hear me patiently to the end, and then pronounce whatever judgment you deem best and most in accordance with your oaths. . . .

Now with regard to the information laid on account of the mutilation of the images, I will tell you everything from the beginning. When, then, Teucrus came from Megara, having obtained special permission, he gave what information he had about the Mysteries and images, and denounced eighteen men. Of the men thus denounced, some fled, and others were arrested and put to death on the strength of this information. Those who fled have returned and are now here. Many relatives of those who were put to death are likewise present. I ask, then, any one of these, who will, to interrupt me in the course of my argument and show, if he can, that I was the cause of exile or death in a single case.

After this had taken place, Pisander and Charicles, who were members of the commission of inquiry, and had the reputation at that time of being loyal to the people, declared that what had been done was not the work of merely a few men, but part of a conspiracy to overthrow the commonwealth, and that they ought, therefore, to continue the investigation.

The city was then in a sorry plight. When the herald

made proclamation for the Senate to enter the council chamber and hauled down the signal, the trouble began. Then it was that the conspirators fled from the market-place in fear of arrest. Then, too, Diocleides, elated with hope over the misfortunes of the city, brought an impeachment before the Senate, declaring that he knew the men who had mutilated the Hermæ, and that they were thirty in number. He told how he chanced to be an eye-witness of the affair. Now I ask you, judges, to give your attention to this matter, and recall whether I speak the truth, refreshing each other's memories; for Diocleides spoke in your midst. To that fact you yourselves can testify.

Diocleides, you will remember, said that he had a slave at Laurium, and that he had occasion to go for a payment due to him. "He rose early in the morning, mistaking the hour, and started on his way. The moon was full. When he got near the gateway of Dionysus, he saw several men going down from the Odeum into the orchestra of the theatre. Afraid of them, he drew into the shade, and crouched down between the pillar and the column with the bronze statue of the General. He saw the men, about three hundred in number, standing around in groups of fifteen and twenty. Most of them he recognized in the light of the moon." Thus, in the first place, judges, he assumed this story — a most extraordinary one — in order, I fancy, that it might rest with him to include in this list any Athenian he pleased, or at pleasure to exempt him. After he had seen all this, he went, he said, to Laurium, where he learned on the following day that the Hermæ had been mutilated. He knew at once that it was the work of the men he had seen in the night. Returning to the city he learned that a commission of inquiry had been appointed and that a reward of a hundred minæ had

been offered for information. Seeing Euphemus, the brother of Callias, the son of Telecles, sitting in his smithy, he brought him into the Hephæsteum and told him how he had seen us on that night. Now, he said, he did not desire to receive a reward from the city rather than from us, if he could have us for friends. Euphemus said that he did well to tell him, and asked him to come to the house of Leogoras, that they might there confer with Andocides and the other needful persons. He came, he declared, on the following day, and knocked at the door. He met my father going out, who said to him: "Are you the visitor whom the company here expect? Well, you ought not to reject such friends," and with these words he was gone. In this way he sought to ruin my father, denouncing him as a confederate. He then stated that we told him we had decided to give him two talents instead of a hundred minæ, as offered by the state for information, and that we pledged ourselves, in the event of our success, to make him one of us. His reply, he said, was that he would think it over. We then asked him, he maintained, to come to the house of Callias, the son of Telecles, that he, too, might be present. Thus he sought to ruin also my kinsman. He came, he said, to the house of Callias, concluded an agreement with us, and gave us pledges on the Acropolis, but we failed to pay him, as agreed, the following month. He came, therefore, he said, to give information about what had been done. Such, judges, was his impeachment. . . .

Now, after we were all arrested and the prison doors were shut at night, there came the mother of one man, the sister of another, and the wife and children of another. Then they wept and bewailed their misfortunes. And Charmides, a cousin of my own age, who had been brought up in our house

from childhood, said to me: "Andocides, you see how great our calamity is. Although, then, heretofore, I had no wish to speak or to give you pain, yet I am now constrained to do so by our present evil. For all your friends and associates, except us, your relations, have either been put to death for the reasons on account of which we now perish, or have gone into exile, thereby condemning themselves. If, then, you know anything of this matter, tell it, and save first yourself, then your father, whom you ought to love exceedingly, then your brother-in-law, who married your only sister, then the rest of your numerous kinsmen and relatives, and finally me, who never grieved you in my whole life, but have ever been most eager to do whatever was for your interest."

Now when Charmides had said this, judges, and each of the others besought and supplicated me, I reflected how unhappy I was to have fallen into such misfortune. Was I to see my kinsmen put to death unjustly and their property confiscated, and see those who were in no sense to blame for what had been done have their names inscribed on columns as impious sinners against the gods? Was I further to see three hundred Athenians perish undeservedly, the city involved in calamity, and the citizens suspicious of one another? Was I, I ask, to sit by idly and see all this, or was it my place to tell the people of Athens what I had heard from Euphiletus himself, the man who committed the outrage? I further reflected, judges, that of those who had wrought the deed of shame some had been put to death on the information of Teucrus, and others, having gone into exile, had sentence of death passed upon them in their absence. Four remained, who had not been informed against by Teucrus,— Panætius, Chæredemus, Diacritus, and Lysistratus. These men above all seemed likely to have been confederates of those against

whom Diocleides had informed, since they were their intimate friends. For these men, then, safety was never secure; but over my own relatives hung certain destruction, unless some one told the people of Athens the actual facts. It seemed to me, therefore, better to deprive these four men of their country, who are still alive and have returned to enjoy their patrimony, than to see my own suffer an unjust death. Such were my reflections.

If now any of you, judges, had a preconceived idea that I gave information to ruin those men and save myself — an assertion that my enemies make in their attempt to asperse my character — examine that idea in the light of the facts. For I must now give a truthful account of my doings in the presence of the very men who perpetrated the crime and then fled. They know best whether I lie or speak the truth, and may confute me, if they can, in the course of my speech; for I appeal to them. But you must learn the facts. For in this trial, judges, nothing is so important for me as that, if acquitted, I should be acquitted with honor; and, further, that the general public should understand my whole conduct to have been absolutely free from baseness or cowardice. I told what I had heard from Euphiletus through solicitude for my friends and kinsmen, through solicitude for the whole city, with courage and not cowardice. If, then, this is so, I ask you to acquit me and not to think me base.

Now consider — for a judge ought to examine the facts by a human standard, as if the misfortune had been his own — what would any one of you have done? If it had been a question of death with honor or life with shame, you might condemn my conduct as cowardice. And yet many would have chosen life in preference to an honorable death. But here the case was the very reverse: by keeping silent I must

have perished ignominiously in my innocence, and must also have permitted the destruction of my father, of my brother-in-law, of all my cousins and relations, whom I and no one else threatened with death, by concealing the guilt of others. The falsehoods of Diocleides had sent them to prison; their only hope of deliverance lay in the Athenians learning the whole truth. I was in danger, therefore, of becoming their murderer, if I failed to tell you what I had heard. I was also in danger of destroying three hundred Athenians, and of involving Athens in the most serious evils. This, then, was the prospect, if I were silent.

How different the prospect if I made known the truth! Then I should save myself, my father, and my kinsmen, and should deliver the city from dangers and misfortunes. Accordingly four men who participated in the crime were driven into exile through me. I had nothing, however, to do with the death or exile of the men against whom Teucrus had laid information. Considering all this, judges, I concluded that the least of the pressing evils was to tell the whole truth, and, by convicting Diocleides of falsifying, to have him punished — a man who sought to ruin us unjustly by deceiving the city, and who, for so doing, was proclaimed a public benefactor and received money from the state. I therefore told the Senate that I knew the men who did the act; that, while we were at a banquet, Euphiletus suggested this scheme, which was not carried out then on account of my opposition; but that later, when I had fallen from my horse in the Cynosarges, and had broken my collar-bone and cut my head, so that I had to be carried home on a stretcher, Euphiletus, seeing my condition, told his confederates that I had agreed to co-operate with them and would mutilate the Hermes by the Phorbanteum. Thus did he deceive them. Yet on that very

account the Hermes near my father's house, dedicated by the Ægean tribe, is, as you all know, the only one in Athens not mutilated; for that task, as Euphiletus told his companions, was assigned to me. When they found this out, they were furious, because I knew of the deed without having had a hand in it. On the following day Meletus and Euphiletus came to me and said: "We have done the deed, Andocides. And if you think fit to remain silent, you will have our friendship as heretofore; otherwise our enmity will be more effectual than any friendships you can make by betraying us." Thereupon I told them that I considered Euphiletus a villain, and that they ought to feel furious, not because I knew it, but because they had done the abominable deed. In support of this statement I gave up my own slave for the torture, to prove that I had been ill and unable even to leave my bed; and the Presidents received the female slaves for examination in the house from which the conspirators set forth to begin their work. After the Senate and the commission of inquiry found out that everything was just as I had stated, they summoned Diocleides. No words were wasted. He at once admitted that he had lied, and asked to be spared on condition of revealing the men who had put him up to it. He said they were Alcibiades of the deme of Phegeus and Amiantus from Ægina; both of whom fled in fear. After you had heard this you imprisoned Diocleides and put him to death, but delivered my relatives from destruction — all on my account. Moreover you allowed the exiles to return; and you yourselves were freed from great dangers and evils.

Wherefore, judges, you ought to pity me in my misfortune; nay, you ought to hold me in honor for what I have done. When Euphiletus proposed the most traitorous of all compacts, I opposed him, and upbraided him as he deserved.

Yet I concealed the crime of the conspirators, even when some were put to death and others driven into exile through the information laid by Teucrus. Only after we were imprisoned and on the point of being put to death through the instrumentality of Diocleides, did I denounce the four conspirators — Panætius, Diacritus, Lysistratus, and Chæredemus. These men, I admit, were driven into exile on my account. But my act saved my father, my brother-in-law, three cousins, and seven other relatives, all of whom were about to suffer an unjust death. These now behold the light of day on my account, and they frankly admit it. Moreover, the man who threw the whole city into confusion and involved it in the greatest dangers has been convicted. Finally you have been delivered from great dangers and freed from suspicion, one against another.

Recall now, judges, whether I speak the truth, and do those of you who know, enlighten the rest. And do you, clerk, call the persons themselves who were released through me; for they know and can tell you best. This is so, judges; as they will come up and testify as long as you care to listen. . . .

And now, gentlemen, when you are about to pronounce final judgment, there are certain things that you should call to mind. Remember that you now enjoy among all the Greeks the enviable reputation of being not only brave on the field of battle, but wise in the council chamber, since you attend not so much to the punishment of past misdeeds as to the future security of the State and the concord of its citizens. Other states as well as ours have had their share of evils. But the peaceful settlement of civil discord is the triumph of the best and wisest peoples. Since, then, you have the admiration of all nations, hostile as well as friendly,

take care that you do not deprive your city of its fair fame, or create the impression that your success is due rather to chance than deliberation.

I ask you, further, to have the same opinion of me that you have of my ancestors. Give me the chance to follow their example. They occupy a place in the memory of their countrymen by the side of the greatest benefactors of the state. They served their country nobly and well, chiefly through good will to you, and with the further purpose that, if ever they or their descendants should fall into misfortune, they might find favor and pardon with you. Forget them not; for once their meritorious deeds served our city in a time of need. When our navy was annihilated at Ægospotami, and many were bent on the destruction of Athens, the Spartans decided to save the city through respect for the memory of those men who had fought for the liberty of all Greece. Since, then, our city was saved through the merits of our ancestors, I ask you to save me through the merits of my ancestors; for to the deeds that saved our city my ancestors contributed no small part. Share with me, then, the salvation that you received from the Greeks.

Consider, also, if you save me, what manner of citizen you will have in me. Once rich and affluent, I have been reduced to penury and want through no fault of mine, but through calamities that befell our city. Since then I have earned my livelihood in an honest way, toiling with my hands and brain. Many friends I have, too; among them kings and great men of the world, whose friendship you will share with me.

If, on the other hand, you destroy me, there will be no one left to perpetuate our name and family. And yet the house of Andocides and Leogoras is no disgrace to Athens. But great will be the disgrace if I am in exile, and Cleophon,

the lyre-maker, dwells in the house of my fathers — a house whose walls are decked with trophies taken by my ancestors from the enemies of their country.

Though my ancestors be dead, let their memory still live, and fancy that you see their shades solemnly pleading in my behalf. For whom else have I to plead for me? My father? He is dead. Brothers? I have none. Children? None have yet been born to me.

Do you, then, be to me father, brothers, children. To you I flee for refuge; you I supplicate and beseech. Turn, then, in supplication to yourselves, and grant me life and safety.

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]

LYSIAS

LYSIAS, the third of the ten Attic orators, was the son of Cephalus, a wealthy Syracusan, long settled in Athens. The date of his birth is variously given from 459 to 436 B.C. He is said to have studied rhetoric under Tisias, at Thurii or Thurium, a Greek city in southern Italy, but returned in 412 to Athens, where he lived the life of a wealthy and prosperous citizen until the defeat of the Athenians at Ægospotamos, by Lysander, in 405. On the establishment, the next year, of the authority of the Thirty Tyrants, his brother, Ptolemarchus, was executed, and Lysias only escaped the same fate by fleeing to Megara. After the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants by Thrasybulus in 403, Lysias returned to Athens, where he passed the remainder of his life in preparing speeches for others to deliver in the law courts. His death occurred about 380. Professor Jebb has declared his distinctive qualities to be "a delicate mastery of the purest Attic, a subtle power of expressing character, and a certain flexibility of mind which enables him under the most diverse circumstances to write with almost unfailing tact and charm." Technically, the mild persuasive style of Lysias represents the plain manner, as distinguished from the "stately" and the "middle." Thirty-four orations are ascribed to Lysias, but the authorship of the funeral orations attributed to him has been the subject of much dispute.

ORATION AGAINST ERATOSTHENES

[In this speech Lysias furnishes many incidents in his own life prior to the fall of Athens, and an account of the government of the Thirty Tyrants who brought about a perfect reign of terror. He describes the day which robbed him of wealth and happiness and left his brother murdered by the conspirators, one of whom was Eratosthenes, against whom the indictment is brought.]

IT does not seem to me difficult to begin the accusation, jurors, but to cease speaking: things such in importance, and so many in number, have been done by them, that neither by deceiving could I make the accusation worse than it really is (that is, existing things), nor, being willing, would I be able to tell the whole truth; but it is necessary either for the accuser to grow weary or for time to fail.

But we seem to be suffering the contrary from (what we suffered) in former times. For formerly it was necessary for the accusers to show the enmity which they had toward the accused; but now it is necessary to ask from the accused what enmity they had toward the State, on account of which they venture to do such wrongs to it. But I do not make these words as not having private enmities and misfortunes, but as if there were plenty of reason for all to be angry on account of their private and public affairs.

In my own case, O jurors, having never pleaded either my own cause or that of others, I am now compelled, by what has taken place, to accuse this man, so that I often felt the greatest despondency lest, on account of my inexperience, I should make the accusation, for my brother and myself, unworthily and unskilfully; still, I will endeavor to establish the truth of these charges as briefly as I can.

My father, Cephalus, was persuaded by Pericles to come to this land, and lived there thirty years; and neither we nor he ever brought an accusation against anybody, or were accused ourselves; but we lived in such a manner, under a democratic form of government, that we neither wronged others nor were wronged by others.

But when the Thirty, being villains and sycophants, were established in power, affirming that it was necessary to rid the city of those doing wrong, and turn the remaining citizens to virtue and justice,— though making such professions, they did not venture to do such things as I, speaking first in my own behalf, and in behalf of you, shall try to remind you.

For Theognis and Piso said, among the Thirty, in regard to the metics, that there were some dissatisfied with the form of government; therefore there was a very good pretext to seem to punish them, but in reality to get their money, for the

city was poor in every respect, and the government needed money.

And without difficulty they persuaded their hearers, for they thought it of no account to kill men, but to take their money they made of the utmost importance. Therefore they decided to arrest ten, and, of these, two poor men, in order that they might have a defence in respect to the others that these things were not done for the sake of money, but in the interest of the State, as if they had ever done anything reasonably.

Accordingly, distributing the houses, they used to go to them, and me they found entertaining guests, whom having driven out, they gave me up to Piso, and the others, going to the workshop, took an inventory of the slaves. And I asked Piso if he was willing to save me, taking a bribe; and he said he would, if there was much of it.

Therefore I said that I was ready to give him a talent of silver, and he agreed to do it. I knew that he regarded neither gods nor men; still, in view of the existing state of affairs, it seemed to me to be absolutely necessary to take a pledge from him.

And when he swore, imprecating destruction upon himself and children, that he would save me, on condition of receiving a talent, I went to my chamber and opened the chest. Piso perceiving this came in, and, seeing what was therein, called two of his servants and commanded them to take what was in the chest.

But when he did not confine himself to the sum agreed upon, jurors, but took three talents of silver, four hundred cyziceni, a hundred darics, and four bowls of silver, I besought him to give me my travelling expenses; whereupon he told me to rejoice if I saved my body.

And Piso and myself coming out (of the house), Melobius and Mnesitheides met, returning from the workshop; they overtook us at the very doors and asked us where we were going; he said to my brother's (house), to see what was in that house; then they told him to go on, but bade me accompany them to Damnipus's (house).

And Piso, approaching me, told me to keep silence and be of good cheer, as he was about to come there: and we found Theognis there, guarding the others: having given me up to whom, they went back; and, being in such circumstances, it seemed best to me to run any risk whatever, as if death were already at hand.

So, having called Damnipus, I spoke to him as follows: You happen to be a friend of mine, and I have come to your house; I have done no wrong, but I am about to be put to death on account of my property; do you, therefore, in consideration of my wretched plight, kindly use your influence in my behalf to secure my safety. And he promised to do it. But it seemed better to him to mention it to Theognis, for he thought that he would do anything if one should give him money.

And while he was conversing with Theognis (as I happened to be acquainted with the house and knew that there were two doors) it seemed best to me to try to save myself, thinking that if I should escape detection I should be safe, but if I should be taken I thought that, if Theognis should be persuaded by Damnipus to receive a bribe, I should get off none the less, but otherwise I should die all the same.

Having thought of these things, I fled while they were stationing a guard at the hall door, and there being three doors through which I must pass, all happened to be open; then, coming to the (house) of Archeneus, the shipmaster, I

sent him to the town to learn about my brother; and he came and said that Eratosthenes had seized him in the road and led him off to prison, and I, having learned these things, on the following night sailed to Megara.

And the Thirty gave the command to Polemarchus, made customary by them, to drink hemlock, before telling the accusation on account of which he was about to die, so much did he want of being tried and making his defence.

And when he was carried out of the prison house dead, although we had three houses, they permitted him to be carried out from neither of them; but, having hired a bier, they laid him out, and, although there was much clothing, they gave none to us, asking it for his burial, but of his friends, one gave a garment, another a pillow, and what each one happened to have, that he gave for his burial.

And although we had seven hundred shields belonging to us, together with gold, silver, brass, ornaments, furniture and female clothing to an amount far beyond their expectations, besides a hundred and twenty slaves, of whom they took the best and threw the rest into prison, they reached such a pitch of insatiable desire and avarice that they made an exhibition of their character; for, from the ears of the wife of Polemarchus, Melobius took the golden earrings which she happened to be wearing, as soon as he came into the house.

And not in the least part of our property did we receive compassion from them; but they so wronged us, on account of our property, as others would in anger for great wrongs, though we did not deserve these things from the city, but paid the expenses of all the choruses, and many taxes, and showed ourselves orderly, and did everything ordered, and had no private enemy, but freed many of the Athenians from their enemies. Of such things they thought the metics worthy, unlike those who are citizens.

For they drove out many of the citizens to their enemies, and, killing many unjustly, left them unburied; and many enjoying the full rights of citizenship, in this city, they deprived of them; and they prevented the daughters of many about to be married (from being married).

And now they have become so audacious that they come here to defend themselves, declaring that they have done nothing wrong or disgraceful; and I wish that they spoke the truth, for not the least share in this good would come to me.

But now these things are advantageous neither to the city nor to me, for, as I said before, Eratosthenes killed my brother, not having been wronged by him privately, or seeing him injuring the city, but zealously assisting his own transgression of the law.

And, having come up here, I wish to question him, O jurors, for this is my opinion: with a view to this man's advantage, I think it impious to converse even with another about him; but to his injury I consider it to be holy and honorable to speak even to himself; therefore rise up, and answer me what I ask you.

Did you lead away Polemarchus, or not?

Fearing, I did what was commanded by the Thirty.

Were you in the council chamber when speeches were made about us?

I was.

Did you agree with those advising to kill, or did you oppose?

I opposed.

That we might not be killed?

That you might not be killed.

Thinking that we would suffer unjustly or justly?

Unjustly.

Then, O basest of all men! did you oppose, in order to

save us, but to arrest us, in order to kill us? And, when the majority of you were masters of our safety, do you say you opposed those wishing to destroy us, but, when it was in your power alone both to save Polemarchus and not, did you lead him away to prison? Then because, as you say, by opposing you did no good, do you claim to be considered an honest man; but, because you arrested and tried to kill us, do you not think that you should suffer punishment for this?

And, moreover, it is not reasonable to believe him in this (if he speaks the truth in saying that he opposed) that it was commanded him. For surely, in the case of the metics, they did not take a pledge from him. To whom then was it less likely to be commanded than (to one) who happened to oppose them, and declared his opinion? for who was less likely to be a servant in these things than the man who opposed what they wished to be done?

And still it seems to me that there is a sufficient excuse for the other Athenians, to lay the blame of what has happened upon the Thirty. But how is it reasonable for you to accept the statements of the Thirty themselves, if they throw the blame on each other?

For, if there had been in the city any greater power than that by which he was ordered to kill men unjustly, you might justly pardon him; but now from whom will you ever exact punishment if it shall be possible for the Thirty to say that they did what was commanded by the Thirty?

(And while it was possible) to save him and abide by the commands of the Thirty, he arrested him, not in his house but in the street, and led him off. And you were all angry with as many as came into your houses making a search for you or for anything of yours.

But, if it was necessary to pardon those who have killed

others for their own safety, you would more justly pardon them, for it was dangerous for those sent not to go, and to those overtaking to deny it; but it was possible for Eratosthenes to say, first, that he did not meet him; secondly, that he did not see him; for these things had neither proof nor trial, so that they could not have been investigated, even by those wishing to be enemies.

But you ought, O Eratosthenes! if you had been an honest man, far rather to have become an informer in favor of those about to die unjustly than to arrest those about to die unjustly; but now your acts have been evident as those not of one troubled, but of one pleased with what has taken place.

So that it is necessary for the jury to give their decision from acts rather than from words, taking, as proofs of the things then said, what they know to have happened, since it is not possible to furnish witnesses about these things; for it was not only impossible for us to be present, but also in each individual case, so that it is in the power of those who have done all evils to the State to say that they have done it every service.

I do not, however, shrink from the issue, but rather confess to you that I am utterly opposed (to their statements). Indeed, I wonder what in Heaven's name you would have done if in harmony with the Thirty, since, when opposing them, you killed Polemarchus. Come now, what would you do if you happened to be brother or son of his? would you acquit him? for Eratosthenes, jurors, must show one of two things, either that he did not lead him away, or that he did this justly; but he has confessed that he arrested him unjustly, so that he has made your decision about him easy.

And now many, both of the citizens and of the strangers, have come to learn of your opinion about these things, some

of whom, being your own citizens, will go away having learned either that they will suffer punishment for the crimes they shall commit, or, having done what they desire, will become tyrants of the city, but, failing, will be on equal terms with you; but the foreigners in the city will know whether they banished the Thirty from their city justly or unjustly, for, if the very men who have suffered ill shall acquit after having arrested, truly they will think that they themselves have been over-zealous in taking vengeance in your behalf.

Is it not, then, a hard thing if you punish by death the generals who conquered in the naval battle because they said they were not able to rescue their companions from the sea on account of the storm, thinking it was necessary to exact punishment from them on account of the valor of the dead; but these who, as private citizens, did all in their power to be defeated in the naval battle, and, when they were established in power, confessed that they willingly put to death many of the citizens without a trial,— is it not necessary that both they themselves and their children should be punished by you with the most extreme punishments?

I then, jurors, think that sufficient accusation has been made, for I think it is necessary to carry the accusation up to this point until things worthy of death shall appear to have been done by the accused; for this is the most extreme punishment we can inflict upon them, so that I do not know what need there is to make many accusations against men who would not be able to give satisfaction for each of their offences by dying twice.

For it is not fitting for him to do that which is customary in this city, to make no defence against the accusations; but, speaking many things concerning themselves, they sometimes deceive, showing to you how good soldiers they are, or how

many ships of the enemy they took when in command of triremes, or how many cities which were hostile they made friendly.

For command him to show where he killed as many of the enemy as of the citizens, or where he took as many ships as they themselves betrayed, or what city they acquired so great as this one of ours which they enslaved.

For did they take as many arms from the enemy as they have taken from you? did they take such walls as those of their own country which they dismantled? Who took away the garrisons about Attica, and made it plain to you that they did not dismantle the Piræus because the Lacedæmonians commanded it, but because they thought that thus their own power would be firmer?

Therefore I often wondered at the audacity of those speaking in their behalf, except when I consider that it is in their power both themselves to do all evils and to praise those like them.

For this is not the first time he has acted contrary to your majority; but in the time of the Four Hundred, having set up an oligarchy in the camp, he fled from the Hellespont, deserting his ship, although the commander of it, with Iatrocles and others whose names I do not need to mention; and, having come thither, he opposed those who favored a democracy. And of these things I will bring you witnesses.

[*Witnesses*]

I will pass over, then, his intervening life; but after the sea-fight and the disaster to the city took place, there being still a democracy, five men were made ephors by the so-called secret societies (whence they began a sedition), to assemble the citizens, lead the conspirators, and oppose your democracy, of which number were Eratosthenes and Critias.

And they appointed commanders over the guards, and they directed what ought to be voted and who ought to rule, and, if they wished to do anything else, they were masters; so not only by enemies, but also by those who were citizens, were you plotted against in order that you might vote nothing good and might be in want of many things.

For this they knew, that they could not get the upper hand in any other way, but success for them depended on your misfortune; and they thought that you, wishing to be freed from your present evils, would not consider about future ones.

That it was in the power of the ephors at that time, I will bring witnesses to you, not those then co-operating with him (for I should not be able), but those who heard Eratosthenes himself.

But, if they had been prudent, they would have borne witness against them, and would have severely punished the teachers of their crimes, and, if they had been wise, would not have considered their oaths binding to the evil of the citizens, but for the good of the State they would have easily transgressed them; therefore I say such things to them, and do you call witnesses for me, and you rise up.

[*Witnesses*]

You have heard the witnesses. At last, being established in power, he took part in no good deed, but in many of an opposite character. If, however, he was an honest man, he ought, in the first place, not to rule contrary to law; secondly, to become an informer to the council concerning all the reports, that they were false, and that Batrachus and Æschylides did not announce the truth, but told things invented by the Thirty, agreed upon for the injury of the citizens.

And indeed, jurors, all who were ill-disposed toward your democracy remained quiet just the same; for there were others saying and doing things, greater evils than which could not come to the city. But for those who said they were well disposed, why did not they show it there, both by speaking what was best themselves and preventing those doing wrong?

But perhaps he might be able to say he was afraid, and this will be a sufficient excuse to some of you. (Observe) then, if he shall appear to be opposing the Thirty in speech; otherwise it will be evident that these things pleased him, and he had so much power that, although he opposed, he suffered no evil from them. And he ought to have this zeal for your safety, but not for Theramenes, who has wronged you in many respects.

But that he considered the city hostile and your enemies his friends, I shall establish by many witnesses; likewise that the quarrels with each other arose not on your behalf, but on theirs, to determine who shall do these things and govern the State.

For, if they made the revolt in behalf of those who had been wronged, when would there have been a better opportunity for a ruler to show his friendship than when Thrasybulus had taken possession of Phylè? But he, instead of announcing or doing anything good toward those at Phylè, came with his fellow-rulers to Salamis and Eleusis, and led away three hundred of the citizens to prison, and by one vote condemned them all to death.

But when we came to the Piræus, and disputes arose, and speeches were made concerning the truce, we each had many hopes of being disposed towards each other, as both parties gave indications; for the Piræus party, being superior, permitted them to depart, and they, having come to

the city, drove out the Thirty, except Phido and Eratosthenes, and chose as leaders those most opposed to them, thinking justly that by the same persons both the Thirty would be hated and the Piræus party loved.

Of these, then, Phido, who had been one of the Thirty, and Hippocles, and Epichares of Lamptræ, and others seeming to be the most opposed to Charicles and Critias and their club, when they were established in power, made a much greater sedition and war against the Piræus party for the city party.

And they openly showed that they were making the sedition, not on behalf of the Piræus party, nor on behalf of those perishing unjustly, neither did they trouble themselves about the dead, nor those about to die, but those who had more power and were getting rich faster.

For, having seized the offices and the city, they made war upon both parties, both the Thirty who had done all evils, and you who had suffered all evils; and this was evident to all, that, if they were accused justly, you (were accused) unjustly; but, if you justly, the Thirty unjustly, for they were banished from the city, not having taken the responsibility of other things, but of these things.

So that it is necessary to be exceedingly indignant that Phido, having been chosen to conciliate you and restore you, took part in the same acts as Eratosthenes, and with the same mind was ready to injure those who were in the majority in their own party by means of you; and he was not willing to give back the city to you unjustly in exile, but, having come to Lacedæmon, he tried to persuade them to make an expedition, falsely saying that the city would fall into the power of the Bœotians, and other things besides by which he hoped most of all to persuade them.

But not being able to obtain this, either because the sacred rites were in the way, or because they themselves did not wish it, he borrowed a hundred talents in order that he might be able to hire mercenaries; and they chose Lysander as leader, who was very friendly to the oligarchy, and most hostile to the State, especially the Piræus party.

Then having hired all men for the destruction of the city, and inciting cities, and finally the Lacedæmonians, and such of their allies as they could persuade, they made preparations not to restore but to destroy the city (and would have succeeded), had it not been for certain brave men, to whom I charge you to show your gratitude by punishing these wretches.

You know these things yourselves, and I know it is not necessary to provide witnesses, nevertheless (I will), for I need to stop speaking, and it is more pleasant for you to hear the same words from as many as possible.

[*Witnesses*]

Come now, I will show you about Theramenes as briefly as I can, and I request you to hear me, both on behalf of myself and the city. And let it occur to no one that I am accusing Theramenes while Eratosthenes is on trial. For I learn that he will make this defence, that he was a friend of his and took part in the same acts.

But I think that he, living as a citizen in Themistocles' day, would strongly pretend that he was acting in order that the walls might be built, since with Theramenes (he is acting) in order that they may be destroyed; for they do not seem to me to be worthy of a comparison, for he built them up against the will of the Lacedæmonians, but this man has torn them down after deceiving the citizens.

For the opposite has happened to the city from what was

natural. For it was right that the friends of Theramenes should be ruined with him, except if one happened to be acting in opposition to him; but now I see that the defence is thrown upon him, but that his companions are trying to get honor, as if he had been the cause of many blessings, and not of great evils.

Who, in the first place, was the chief cause of the former oligarchy, having persuaded you to choose the constitution, in the time of the Four Hundred? his father, being one of the probouli, did these things, and he himself, seeming to be in full sympathy with the affair, was chosen general by them.

And while he was in office he showed himself faithful to the city; but when he saw that Pisander and Callæschrus and others were superior to him, and that your majority no longer wished to hear them, then, on account of his enmity towards them, and his fear of you, he took part in the acts of Aristocrates.

And, wishing to seem to be faithful to your majority, he accused and put to death Antiphon and Archeptolemos, who were great friends of his, and reached such a pitch of wickedness that at the same time, on account of his faith to them, he enslaved you, and on account of his (faith) to you he destroyed his friends.

Then being honored and thought worthy of the greatest things, he himself, having announced that he would save the city, destroyed it, saying he had found a great and valuable thing. And he promised to make peace without giving hostages, without dismantling the walls, and without giving up the ships, and wished to say these things to no one, but he commanded you to trust him.

But you, Athenians, while the council of the Areopagus was acting for safety, and many were opposing Theramenes,

though you knew that other men keep secrets from the enemy, while he, even among his own citizens, was unwilling to state those things which he was going to state to the enemy, nevertheless entrusted to him your country, children, wives, and yourselves.

But he did nothing of what he promised; on the contrary, he reflected that the city ought to be small and weak, so that he endeavored to persuade you to do those things which no one ever mentioned to the enemy, or hoped to mention to the citizens; not being compelled by the Lacedæmonians, but himself giving orders to them, both to destroy the walls of the Piræus and to break up the existing state of government, well knowing that if you were not deprived of all hopes you would inflict speedy punishment upon him.

And finally, jurors, he did not permit the assembly to be held until the time mentioned by them was carefully watched by him, and he had summoned the ships from Samos with Lysander, and the camp of the enemy was in the city.

Then, this being the state of affairs, and Lysander and Philochares and Miltiades being present, they made an assembly, concerning the constitution, in order that no orator might oppose or threaten them, and that you might not choose what was advantageous, but might vote what seemed best to them.

And Theramenes stood up and advised you to commit the city to thirty men and abide by the constitution which Dracontides proposed, but you, nevertheless, being so disposed, made a tumult as if you would not do these things, for you knew that you were deliberating that day concerning slavery and liberty.

But Theramenes, jurors (and of these things I will bring you yourselves as witnesses), said he cared nothing for your tumult, since he knew that many of the Athenians were doing

things like himself, and he said things which seemed good to Lysander and the Lacedæmonians; and after him Lysander rose up and said a great deal, but particularly that he considered you faithless, and that the question would be to you, not about a constitution, but about safety, unless you did what Theramenes commands.

And of those in the assembly, the better portion aware of the preparation and the necessity, some remained and kept quiet; but others went off, knowing this, at least, that they had voted nothing wrong to the city; while a few villains and evil schemers voted what was commanded.

For they were commanded to elect ten whom Theramenes proposed, and ten whom those elected ephors advised, and ten from those present; for they saw your weakness, and they knew their own power, so that they knew beforehand what was going to take place in the assembly.

And in these things it is not necessary to believe me, but him, for all those things said by me he said, in his defence in the council, reproaching the exiles, because they came back through his means,— the Lacedæmonians not caring about it,— and reviling those taking part in the government, because he himself met with such treatment after having been the cause of all the things done in the ways mentioned by me, having himself given many pledges and received many from them.

And though he has been the cause of so many other evils and disgraces, both long ago and recently, and small and great, they will venture to declare that they are friends of his, when Theramenes died not on your behalf, but on account of his own wickedness, and was justly punished in an oligarchy (for he destroyed it), as he would have been justly in a democracy; for he twice enslaved you, despising what was present

and desiring what was absent, setting himself up as a teacher of most horrible things, using a most honorable name.

Concerning Theramenes, then, the accusations seem to me to be sufficient; and the time has come when it is necessary not to have pardon and pity in your decision, but to punish Eratosthenes and his fellow rulers; and not by fighting to be superior to our enemies, nor by voting to be inferior to our private enemies.

Accordingly do not believe that they have more favor for what they say they are going to do, than you have anger for what they have done; neither plot against the Thirty when absent and acquit them when present; neither aid yourselves in a manner worse than fortune has, which has given them to the city.

Accusation is made against Eratosthenes and his friends, upon whom he will lay the defence, and with whom these things were done by him; but there is not an equal contest between the city and Eratosthenes, for he was at once the accuser and judge of what was taking place; but we are brought now to an accusation and defence.

They put to death without a trial those doing no wrong; but you think it right to try, according to law, those who have destroyed the city; from whom, even if you wished to exact punishment contrary to law, you could not exact one worthy of the crimes which they have done to the city; for by what suffering could they suffer a punishment worthy of their deeds?

If you should kill these and their children, should we exact a punishment worthy of the murder of those whose fathers and sons and brothers they put to death without a trial? or, if you should confiscate their real estate, would it be well either to the State, from which they have taken many things, or to the private citizens, whose houses they have plundered?

Since, then, by most stringent measures you could not exact a sufficient punishment from them, why is it not disgraceful for you to neglect any (penalty) whatever, one might wish to exact from them? It seems to me that he must be an audacious wretch who, when no others are the jurors except those very ones who have suffered ill, has come to make his defence before the very witnesses of his villainy; so much has he either despised you or trusted others.

Both of which things it is worth while to consider, reflecting that they would not be able to do these things without the co-operation of others, neither would they have attempted to come now, unless they thought they would be saved by those same persons who have come here, not to rescue them, but in the belief that there would be great security to them for what they have done, and in future the power to do whatever they wish, if, having arrested, you shall acquit those guilty of the greatest crimes.

But it is worth while to wonder at those asking with them, whether, as good, honorable men, they make their accusations, showing their own virtue worth more than the baseness of these; and I wish that they were as zealous to save the city as these to destroy it; or whether they will defend themselves as skilful in speech, and will show their deeds to be worthy of much; but no one of them ever endeavored to speak justly in your behalf.

Again, it is worth while to see the witnesses who, witnessing these things, accuse themselves, thinking that you are very forgetful and simple-minded if, through your majority, they think without fear to save the Thirty; but thanks to Eratosthenes and his fellow rulers it became a fearful thing to go even to the carrying out of the dead.

But these men, being saved, would again be able to destroy

the State, but those whom they destroyed, having died, gave their life beyond the vengeance of their enemies. Is it not a hard thing if their friends should perish with those who have died unjustly, while many will come anywhere to the funeral of those who destroyed the State when so many are prepared to go to the rescue?

And I think it far easier to resist your wrongs than to defend the conduct of these men. But they say that Eratosthenes did the fewest evils of the Thirty, and, on this account, they demand that he shall be saved; but because, of the other Greeks, he has done you the most wrongs, they do not think he ought to perish.

Now, therefore, do you show what opinion you have in regard to these matters. If you convict him it will be evident that you are indignant at what has taken place; but if you acquit him you will seem to be desirous of the same things with them, and you will not be able to say that you did what was commanded by the Thirty.

For in the present case no one compels you to acquit contrary to your opinion, so that I advise you not to convict yourselves by acquitting these, neither think that your vote is secret, for you will make your decision known to the city.

I desire to conclude, after reminding both parties of a few things, the city party and the Piræus party, in order that, having as proofs the disasters which have occurred through their means, you may vote. In the first place, do you of the city party reflect that you were so severely governed by them that you were compelled to wage such a war upon your brothers, and sons, and citizens, that, being defeated in it, you would be on an equality with those who conquered, but, conquering, would be slaves to them?

These villains, on one hand, as a result of the strife, would

have enriched their private resources, but you would be inferior on account of your war with each other, for they demanded that you should not assist yourselves jointly, while they compelled you to slander each other, having reached such a pitch of arrogance that, without sharing the offices with you, they had you faithful, but, sharing the reproaches, they thought you would be friendly.

Wherefore do you, being confident, as far as you are able, both exact punishment in your own behalf and in behalf of the Piræus party, reflecting that you were governed by those who were most vicious, that you are living now with the best of men, making war upon enemies, and deliberating for (the interests) of the city, and remembering the mercenaries whom these men made the guards of their power and your servitude in the acropolis.

This much I say to you, though there be many things besides: and do you of the Piræus party, in the first place, remember your warlike deeds, that, having fought many battles in a foreign country, you were deprived of your arms, not by enemies, but by these men in a time of peace; secondly, that you are proclaimed exiles from the city, which our fathers gave to you, and that they demanded you, having fled, back from the cities (to which you fled).

Therefore be angry as when you went into exile, and remember the other misfortunes which you suffered from them, who seized some from the market-place and others from the temple, and put them to death, and, dragging others away from their children, parents, and wives, compelled them to be murderers of their own kindred, and did not permit them to receive the customary burial; thinking their own government would be more secure from the vengeance of the gods.

And those who escaped death, after having often been in

danger, wandering to other cities, and being outlawed from every place, in want of the necessary supplies of life, some leaving their children in a foreign country, and others in a strange land, with much opposition, have come to the Piræus. And though there were many and great dangers, being honorable men, you freed some, and others you restored to their country.

But if you had been unsuccessful, and had failed in these things, you would yourselves have fled, fearing lest you should suffer just such wrongs as before, and neither temples nor altars would have helped you, injured through the characters of these men, which things are a source of safety even to those doing wrong; and your children, as many as were here, would be ill-treated by them; and they, in a foreign land, would be slaves, on account of small debts, from the lack of those to assist them.

However, I am not willing to say what the future will be, not being able to say what has been done by them; for it is not the work of one accuser, nor of two, but of many; still (nothing of my zeal has been left out) I have employed all my zeal in behalf of the temples, which they in part have sold, and in part desecrated by entering; in behalf of the city, which they rendered weak; in behalf of the dock-yard, which they dismantled; and in behalf of the dead, whom, now that they are dead, do you aid, since you were not able to defend them when alive.

But I think they hear you, and will know that you are voting, feeling that those who acquit these have condemned themselves to death; but as many as punish these have avenged them. I shall cease accusing. You have heard, seen, suffered, and hold the evidence: judge.

ALCIBIADES

ALCIBIADES, a celebrated popular Athenian leader, of noble family, was born in Athens about 450 B.C. He entered actively into political life soon after the death of Cleon, in 422, and headed the war party against Nicias. In 415 he was chosen commander of the expedition into Sicily, but before it sailed was charged with instigating the famous mutilation of the statues of Hermes, and after he had reached Sicily was ordered to return for trial. He escaped, however, to Sparta, and there acted as an avowed enemy of his country, but soon deserted the Spartans, and was recalled from Corinth to Athens in 411. He did not return, however, until 407, when he was received with great enthusiasm and made commander-in-chief of the forces of land and sea. On being defeated at Notium he went into voluntary exile, and after the fall of Athens in 404 was preparing to go to the court of Artaxerxes when his home was attacked by a number of armed men, and he himself was slain. He was throughout his life distinguished for personal beauty and great vanity. He was exceedingly fond of notoriety and display, and led a highly immoral life. His talents were much above the average, but they were never exercised for the real good of his country, and his career was valuable to his fellow citizens only in the light of a warning.

SPEECH IN FAVOR OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION

[In the following speech, as reported by Thucydides, Alcibiades encourages the Athenians to attempt the conquest of Sicily, and responds to Nicias, who has endeavored to dissuade them from undertaking the expedition.]

I HAVE a better right to command, men of Athens, than another; for as Nicias has attacked me I must begin by praising myself, and I consider that I am worthy. Those doings of mine for which I am so much cried out against are an honor to myself and to my ancestors, and a solid advantage to my country. In consequence of the distinguished manner in which I represented the state at Olympia, the other Hellenes formed an idea of our power which even exceeded the reality, although they had previously imagined that we

were exhausted by war. I sent into the lists seven chariots — no other private man ever did the like; I was victor, and also won the second and fourth prize; and I ordered everything in a style worthy of my victory.

The general sentiment honors such magnificence; and the energy which is shown by it creates an impression of power. At home, again, whenever I gain *éclat* by providing choruses or by the performance of some other public duty, although the citizens are naturally jealous of me, to strangers these acts of munificence are a new argument of our strength. There is some use in the folly of a man who at his own cost benefits not only himself but the state. And where is the injustice, if I or any one who feels his own superiority to another refuses to be on a level with him? The unfortunate keep their misfortunes to themselves. We do not expect to be recognized by our acquaintance when we are down in the world; and on the same principle why should any one complain when treated with disdain by the more fortunate?

He who would have proper respect shown to him should himself show it towards others. I know that men of this lofty spirit, and all who have been in any way illustrious, are hated while they are alive, by their equals especially, and in a lesser degree by others who have to do with them; but that they leave behind them to after-ages a reputation which leads even those who are not of their family to claim kindred with them, and that they are the glory of their country, which regards them, not as aliens or as evil-doers, but as her own children, of whose character she is proud.

These are my own aspirations, and this is the reason why my private life is assailed; but let me ask you whether in the management of public affairs any man surpasses me. Did I not, without involving you in any great danger or expense,

combine the most powerful states of Peloponnesus against the Lacedæmonians, whom I compelled to stake at Mantinea all that they had upon the fortune of one day? and even to this hour, although they were victorious in the battle, they have hardly recovered courage.

These were the achievements of my youth, and of what is supposed to be my monstrous folly; thus did I by winning words conciliate the Peloponnesian powers, and my heartiness made them believe in me and follow me. And now do not be afraid of me because I am young, but while I am in the flower of my days and Nicias enjoys the reputation of success, use the services of us both. Having determined to sail, do not change your minds under the impression that Sicily is a great power. For although the Sicilian cities are populous, their inhabitants are a mixed multitude, and they readily give up old forms of government and receive new ones from without. No one really feels that he has a city of his own; and so the individual is ill-provided with arms, and the country has no regular means of defence. A man looks only to what he can win from the common stock by arts of speech or by party violence; hoping, if he is overthrown, at any rate to carry off his prize and enjoy it elsewhere. They are a motley crew, who are never of one mind in counsel, and are incapable of any concert in action. Every man is for himself, and will readily come over to any one who makes an attractive offer; the more readily if, as report says, they are in a state of revolution. They boast of their hoplites, but, as has proved to be the case in all Hellenic states, the number of them is grossly exaggerated. Hellas has been singularly mistaken about her heavy infantry; and even in this war it was as much as she could do to collect enough of them.

The obstacles then which will meet us in Sicily, judging

of them from the information which I have received, are not great; indeed, I have overrated them, for there will be many barbarians who, through fear of the Syracusans, will join us in attacking them. And at home there is nothing which, viewed rightly, need interfere with the expedition. Our forefathers had the same enemies whom we are now told that we are leaving behind us, and the Persian besides; but their strength lay in the greatness of their navy, and by that and that alone they gained their empire. Never were the Peloponnesians more hopeless of success than at the present moment; and let them be ever so confident, they can only invade us by land, which they will equally do whether we go to Sicily or not. But on the sea they cannot hurt us, for we shall leave behind us a navy equal to theirs.

What reason can we give to ourselves for hesitation? what excuse can we make to our allies for denying them aid? We have sworn to them, and have no right to argue that they never assisted us. In seeking their alliance we did not intend that they should come and help us here, but that they should harass our enemies in Sicily, and prevent them from coming hither. Like all other imperial powers, we have acquired our dominion by our readiness to assist any one, whether barbarian or Hellene, who may have invoked our aid. If we are all to sit and do nothing, or to draw distinctions of race when our help is requested, we shall add little to our empire, and run a great risk of losing it altogether. For mankind do not await the attack of a superior power, they anticipate it. We cannot cut down an empire as we might a household; but having once gained our present position we must keep a firm hold upon some, and contrive occasion against others; for if we are not rulers we shall be subjects.

You cannot afford to regard inaction in the same light as

others might, unless you impose a corresponding restriction on your policy. Convinced then that we shall be most likely to increase our power here if we attack our enemies there, let us sail. We shall humble the pride of the Peloponnesians when they see that, scorning the delights of repose, we have attacked Sicily. By the help of our acquisitions there we shall probably become masters of all Hellas; at any rate we shall injure the Syracusans, and at the same time benefit ourselves and our allies.

Whether we succeed and remain or depart, in either case our navy will ensure our safety; for at sea we shall be more than a match for all Sicily. Nicias must not divert you from your purpose by preaching indolence and by trying to set the young against the old; rather in your accustomed order, old and young taking counsel together, after the manner of your fathers who raised Athens to this height of greatness, strive to rise yet higher. Consider that youth and age have no power unless united; but that the lighter and the more exact and the middle sort of judgment, when duly attempered, are likely to be most efficient. The State, if at rest, like everything else, will wear herself out by internal friction. Every pursuit which requires skill will bear the impress of decay, whereas by conflict fresh experience is always being gained, and the city learns to defend herself, not in theory, but in practice. My opinion in short is, that a state used to activity will quickly be ruined by the change to inaction; and that they of all men enjoy the greatest security who are truest to themselves and their institutions even when they are not the best.

ISOCRATES

ISOCRATES, one of the ten most famous Attic orators, was born in 436 B.C. His father was an Athenian citizen possessed of considerable wealth. He himself tells us that his father was careful to provide for him the best education which Athens could afford. He took no active part in the public life of Athens, being disqualified by the weakness of his voice for the contests of the popular assembly or of the law courts. For very many years he conducted a school of oratory in his native city, and wrote speeches to be spoken by others either in legal proceedings or at political meetings. The speech which we here reproduce is interesting not only in itself, but because it was imitated by Milton in his "Areopagitica." Isocrates died, at the age of ninety-eight, a few days after the Battle of Chæronea, but there is probably no truth in the tradition that he killed himself from grief at "that dishonest victory fatal to liberty."

THE AREOPAGITIC ORATION WRITTEN TO PERSUADE ATHENS TO RETURN TO THE CONSTITUTION OF SOLON

I THINK many of you wonder whatever is the idea that has led me to come forward to speak concerning the public safety, as if the city were in peril, or its affairs in a dangerous condition, instead of being the owner of more than two hundred triremes, at peace in Attica and the neighborhood, mistress of the sea, and still in a position to command the support of many allies who will be ready to assist us in time of need, and of a still larger number who pay contributions and obey our orders; while we possess all these advantages, one would say that we might reasonably be of good courage as being out of reach of danger, and that it is rather our

ISOCRATES

Orations Volume one

enemies who ought to be afraid and to take counsel for their own safety.

I know well that you, adopting this line of argument, despise my appearance here, and expect to maintain your authority over the whole of Greece with your present resources; whereas this is just the reason why I am afraid. For I see that those cities which think they are most prosperous adopt the worst counsels, and that those which feel the greatest confidence fall into the greatest dangers. The reason of this is, that no good or evil falls to the lot of man by itself alone, but, while wealth and power are attended and followed by want of sense, accompanied by license, want and a humble position bring with them prudence and moderation, so that it is hard to decide which of these two lots one would prefer to leave as a legacy to his children. For we should find that, starting from that which seems to be worse, things generally improve; while, as the result of that which is apparently better, they usually deteriorate. . . .

A city's soul is nothing else but its political principle, which has as great influence as understanding in a man's body. For this it is that counsels concerning everything, and, while preserving prosperity, avoids misfortune. It is this that laws, orators, and individuals must naturally resemble, and fare according to the principles they hold. We, however, pay no heed to its destruction, and give no thought how we shall recover it; but, sitting in our shops, we abuse the present constitution, and assert that we were never worse governed under a democracy, while in our acts and thoughts we show ourselves more attached to it than to that bequeathed to us by our ancestors. It is on behalf of the latter that I propose to speak, and have

given notice in writing of my intention to do so. For I see that this will be the only means of averting future dangers and getting rid of our present evils, if, namely, we be willing to restore that democracy which Solon, the devoted friend of the people, introduced, and which Cleisthenes, who drove out the despots and restored the rights of the people, re-established in its original form. We should not find a constitution more favorable to the people or more beneficial to the state than that. The strongest proof whereof is that those who lived under it, having wrought many noble deeds and gained universal renown, received the headship from the Hellenes of their own free will, while those who are enamored of the present constitution, hated by all, after having undergone dreadful sufferings, have only just escaped being involved in the direst calamities. Surely it cannot be right to acquiesce in or be content with this constitution, which has been the cause of so many evils in former times, and is now every year growing worse. Ought we not rather to fear that if our misfortunes increase to such an extent, we may at last run aground upon more grievous troubles than those that then befell us?

In order that you may make your choice and decide between the two Constitutions, not merely after having heard a general statement, but from accurate knowledge, it is your duty to give your earnest attention to what I say, while I endeavor, as briefly as possible, to give you an account of both.

Those who conducted the affairs of the city at that time [the time of Solon] established a constitution that was not merely in name most mild and impartial, while in reality it did not show itself such to those who lived under it—a

constitution that did not train its citizens in such a manner that they considered license democracy, lawlessness liberty, insolence of speech equality, and the power of acting in this manner happiness, but which, by hating and punishing men of such character, made all the citizens better and more modest. And what chiefly assisted them in managing the state aright was this: of the two recognized principles of equality, the one assigning the same to all, the other their due to individuals, they were not ignorant which was the more useful, but rejected as unjust that which considered that good and bad had equal claims, and preferred that which honored and punished each man according to his deserts; and governed the state on these principles, not appointing magistrates from the general body of citizens by lot, but selecting the best and most capable to fill each office. For they hoped that the rest of the citizens would behave themselves like those at the head of affairs. In the next place, they thought that this method of appointing to office was more to the advantage of the people than appointment by lot, since, in appointing by lot, chance would have the decision, and supporters of oligarchy would often obtain offices, while, in selecting the most respectable citizens, the people would be able to choose those who were most favorably disposed toward the established constitution. And the reason why the majority were contented with this arrangement, and why public offices were not objects of contention, was that they had learned to work and economize, and not to neglect their own property while entertaining designs on that of others, nor again to supply their own needs at the expense of the public funds, but rather to assist the treasury, if necessary, out of their own means, and not to have a

more accurate knowledge of the income arising from public offices than of that produced by their own property. So severely did they keep their hands off the state revenues, that during those times it was harder to find men willing to undertake office than it is now to find men who have no desire for office at all; for they regarded the care of public affairs not as a lucrative business, but as a public charge, and they did not from the very day they took office consider whether the former holders of office had left anything to be gained, but rather whether they had neglected anything that pressed for a settlement. In short, they had made up their minds that the people, like an absolute master, ought to control the public offices, punish offenders and settle disputed points, and that those who were able to enjoy ease and possessed sufficient means should attend to public affairs like servants, and, if they acted justly, should be praised and rest contented with this recognition of their services, while, if they managed affairs badly, they should meet with no mercy, but should be visited with the severest penalties. And how would it be possible to find a democracy more just or more secure than one which set the most influential citizens at the head of public affairs, and at the same time invested the people with sovereign control over these same officials?

Such was the arrangement of the constitution adopted by them; and it is easy to understand from this that in their every-day life they always acted with uprightness and in accordance with the laws. For, when men have adopted right principles in regard to affairs in general, single departments of the same must of necessity resemble the whole. . . .

In a similar manner they behaved in their relations toward one another. For they were not only in accord upon public matters, but, in regard to their private life, they showed such consideration for one another as befits men of sense and members of one and the same fatherland. Far from the poorer citizens envying the richer, they were as anxious about the wealthy families as about their own, considering their prosperity to be a source of advantage to themselves; while those who were possessed of means, not only did not look down upon those who were in a humbler position, but, considering it disgraceful to themselves that the citizens should be in want, relieved their needs, handing over plots of land to some at a moderate rental, sending others out on business, and advancing capital to others for other occupations. For they were not afraid either of losing all, or with great difficulty recovering only a part of what had been lent, but felt as safe about the money put out as if it had been stored away at home. For they saw that those who decided claims for debt did not err on the side of leniency, but obeyed the laws, not making use of the suits of others in order to make it easy for them to act dishonestly themselves, but feeling more anger against those who cheated even than those who were themselves wronged, thinking that the poor sustained more injury than the rich by the act of those who did not faithfully observe their agreements; for the latter, if they were to give up lending money, would only lose a small portion of their income, while the former, if they should be without any to assist them, would be reduced to the greatest distress. Since all shared this opinion, no one either concealed the amount of his property or shrank from lending money, but all were more

pleased to see borrowers than payers. For two things happened to them, which sensible men would desire: they both benefited their fellow-citizens and laid out their money to advantage. In short, as the result of their honorable social intercourse, their property was secured to those to whom it by right belonged, and the enjoyment of it was open to all the citizens who stood in need of it.

Perhaps some one may object to my statements that, while I praise the condition of affairs at that time, I give no explanation of the causes which made their relations among themselves so satisfactory and their administration of the city so successful; wherefore, although I think that I have already said something on this point, I will endeavor to give a fuller and clearer account of them. While, in their early training they had many instructors, they were not allowed, when they reached manhood, to do as they pleased, but it was just in the prime of life that they were more carefully looked after than during their boyhood. For our ancestors paid such attention to virtue that they charged the council of Areopagus with the maintenance of decorum, to the membership of which body only those were admitted who were of noble birth, and who had shown distinguished virtue and sobriety in their lives, so that naturally it stood before all the other assemblies of Hellas.

From what takes place at the present day, we may draw inferences concerning the institutions of that period; for even now, when everything connected with the election and scrutiny of magistrates is neglected, we should find that men, whose conduct in other respects is insufferable, when once they have become members of the Areopa-

gus, shrink from following their natural bent, and conform to the regulations of the council rather than indulge their own vicious propensities—so great was the dread with which it inspired the vicious, and such the memorial of virtue and sobriety that it left behind in that place.

Such was the authority to which, as I have said, they intrusted the maintenance of good order, which considered that those were in error who imagined that a community, in which the laws were framed with the greatest exactness, produced the best men; for, if this were so, there would be nothing to prevent all the Hellenes being on the same level, so far as the facility of adopting one another's written laws is concerned. They, on the contrary, knew that virtue is not promoted by the laws, but by the habits of daily life, and that most people turn out men of like character to those in whose midst they have severally been brought up. For, where there are a number of laws drawn up with great exactitude, it is a proof that the city is badly administered; for the inhabitants are compelled to frame laws in great numbers as a barrier against offences. Those, however, who are rightly governed should not cover the walls of the porticoes with copies of the laws, but preserve justice in their hearts; for it is not by decrees, but by manners, that cities are well governed, and, while those who have been badly brought up will venture to transgress laws drawn up even with the greatest exactitude, those who have been well educated will be ready to abide by laws framed in the simplest terms. With these ideas they did not first consider how they should punish the disorderly, but by what means they should induce them to refrain from committing any offence deserving of punishment; for

they considered that this was their mission, but that eagerness to inflict punishment was a matter of malevolence!

They were careful of the welfare of all the citizens, but especially the younger. For they saw that, at their time of life, they were most disposed to turbulence and full of desires, and that their minds needed to be especially trained and exercised in honorable pursuits and work accompanied by enjoyment, since those who have been brought up in a liberal spirit, and are accustomed to entertain high thoughts, would abide by these alone. It was impossible to direct all toward the same pursuits, as their positions in life were not the same; but they order them to follow occupations in conformity with their means. Those who were less well off than others they employed in agriculture and mercantile pursuits, knowing that want of means arises from idleness, and vicious habits from want of means; thus, by removing the source of these evils, they thought to keep them from the other offences that follow in its train. . . .

Further, under the influence of that excellently ordered administration, the citizens were so trained to virtue that they did not injure one another, but fought and overcame all those who invaded their territory. With us it is quite the contrary, for we let no day pass without doing harm to one another, and have so neglected military matters that we cannot even bring ourselves to attend drill unless we receive pay. And—what is most important of all—at that time none of the citizens was in want of the necessaries of life, nor by asking alms from passers-by brought disgrace upon the city, whereas now the needy outnumber the well-to-do; so that we ought freely to excuse them, if they take no

thought for the interests of the state, but only consider whence they are to procure their daily bread.

It is because I think that, if we follow the example of our forefathers, we shall both be rid of these evils and become the saviors, not only of the city, but of all the Hellenes, that I have come forward to speak and have said what I have; do you, then, weighing all this carefully, vote for whatever seems to you likely to prove most conducive to the welfare of the state.

ENCOMIUM ON EVAGORAS

[This is the third of the discourses addressed to Nicocles, and, according to Isocrates himself, was the first example of a panegyric on a contemporary. Evagoras was assassinated in B.C. 374 by a eunuch whose master had fled from Salamis on being detected in a plot against the king's life. Evagoras appears to have been a man of distinct ability, and the champion of Hellenism against barbarism, as shown by his resistance against Persia.]

WHEN I saw, O Nicocles, that you were honoring the tomb of your father, not only with numerous and magnificent offerings, according to custom, but also with dances, musical exhibitions, and athletic contests, as well as with horse-races and trireme-races, on a scale that left no possibility of their being surpassed, I thought that Evagoras, if the dead have any feeling of what happens on earth, while accepting this offering favorably, and beholding with joy your filial regard for him and your magnificence, would feel far greater gratitude to any one who could show himself capable of worthily describing his mode of life and the dangers he had undergone than to any one else; for we shall find that ambitious and high-souled men not only prefer praise to such honors, but choose a glorious death in pref-

erence to life, and are more jealous of their reputation than of their existence, shrinking from nothing in order to leave behind a remembrance of themselves that shall never die.

Now, expensive displays produce none of these results, but are merely an indication of wealth; those who are engaged in liberal pursuits and other branches of rivalry, by displaying, some their strength, and others their skill, increase their reputation; but a discourse that could worthily describe the acts of Evagoras would cause his noble qualities to be ever remembered amongst all mankind.

Other writers ought accordingly to have praised those who showed themselves distinguished in their own days, in order that both those who are able to embellish the deeds of others by their eloquence, speaking in the presence of those who were acquainted with the facts, might have adhered to the truth concerning them, and that the younger generation might be more eagerly disposed to virtue, feeling convinced that they will be more highly praised than those to whom they show themselves superior.

At the present time, who could help being disheartened at seeing those who lived in the times of the Trojan wars, and even earlier, celebrated in songs and tragedies, when he knows beforehand that he himself, even if he surpass their noble deeds, will never be deemed worthy of such eulogies? The cause of this is jealousy, the only good of which is that it is the greatest curse to those who are actuated by it. For some men are naturally so peevish that they would rather hear men praised, as to whom they do not feel sure that they ever existed, than those at whose hands they themselves have received benefits.

Men of sense ought not to be the slaves of the folly of such men, but, while despising them, they ought at the same time

to accustom others to listen to matters which ought to be spoken of, especially since we know that the arts and everything else are advanced, not by those who abide by established customs, but by those who correct and, from time to time, venture to alter anything that is unsatisfactory.

I know that the task I am proposing to myself is a difficult one — to eulogize the good qualities of a man in prose. A most convincing proof of this is that, while those who are engaged in the study of philosophy are ever ready to speak about many other subjects of various kinds, none of them has ever yet attempted to compose a treatise on a subject like this.

And I can make much allowance for them; for to poets many embellishments of language are permitted; they are allowed to represent the gods as associating and conversing with men and aiding whomsoever they will in battle, to discuss them, not only in ordinary terms, but also to employ, sometimes strange expressions, sometimes newly formed words, and sometimes metaphors, and are able to vary their composition with all kinds of embellishment, omitting none; prose-writers, on the other hand, have no license of the kind, but are obliged to employ only ordinary words with precision, and thoughts that deal with plain facts. Besides, the former always make use of metre and rhythm, while the latter have no share in these advantages, which possess such a charm, that, even if the style and thoughts are feeble, they attract the hearers by harmony and cadence.

One may recognize their influence from what I am going to say; for if one retains the words and ideas of famous poems, and does away with the metre, they will appear to fall far short of the opinion we at present hold concerning them. But, nevertheless, although poetry possesses such great advan-

tages, we must not shrink from the task, but try whether plain prose will be as competent to pronounce the eulogy of good men as those who deliver encomiums in songs and verse.

In the first place, in regard to the birth and descent of Evagoras, although many are acquainted with them already, it appears to me fitting that I also should give some account of them for the sake of those who are not, in order that all may know that, while the greatest and noblest examples had been bequeathed to him by his ancestors, he showed himself no whit inferior to them.

It is admitted that the descendants of Zeus are the noblest of the demigods, and, amongst them, all would assign pre-eminence to the Æacidæ; for, while in all other races we shall find some eminent and others inferior, all the Æacidæ were the most famous amongst their contemporaries.

Æacus, the descendant of Zeus, and ancestor of the family of the Teucridæ, was a man of such distinction that, when the Hellenes were visited with drought and numbers perished, and the extent of the calamity had passed all bounds, the chief magistrates of the cities came and implored his assistance, confident that, by the aid of his kinship with the gods and his well-known piety, they would speedily find relief from their present calamities by the favor of Heaven.

After they had been delivered from their distress and had obtained what they wanted, they built a temple in Ægina in the name of all the Hellenes, on the spot where Æacus had offered up his prayer to Heaven. From that time, as long as he was amongst men, he continued to enjoy the highest reputation; and, when he departed this life, he is said to have taken his seat by the side of Pluto and Persephone, in the enjoyment of the greatest honors.

His sons were Telamon and Peleus. The former, having

accompanied Hercules in his expedition against Laomedon, obtained the meed of valor; Peleus, having distinguished himself in the battle against the Centaurs and gained renown in many other dangerous undertakings, wedded Thetis, the daughter of Nereus, and, a mortal, became the husband of an immortal bride, and he is the only man of all who have ever lived, at whose marriage the bridal hymn is said to have been sung by the gods.

Both had sons: Telamon, Ajax and Teucer; and Peleus, Achilles; all three of whom gave the greatest and clearest proof of their courage; for they took the lead, not only in their own cities, and in the places where they dwelt, but, when the Hellenes made an expedition against the barbarians, and many on either side gathered round the standard, no man of distinction absenting himself, Achilles surpassed all others in this dangerous enterprise.

Next after him Ajax was distinguished for valor, and Teucer, showing himself worthy of his kinship with them, and not a whit inferior to any of the rest, having assisted in the capture of Troy, sailed to Cyprus and founded Salamis, calling it after the name of his country, and was the founder of the present dynasty.

Such was the original greatness that Evagoras owed to his ancestors. After the city had been founded in this manner, in early times the descendants of Teucer held the government, but afterwards a Phœnician exile landed, and, having been admitted into the confidence of the reigning prince and acquired great influence, showed no gratitude, but behaved shamefully towards the man who had afforded him shelter, and, being terribly ambitious, drove out his benefactor and seized the kingdom. Afterwards, distrustful of the consequences of his acts, and desirous of establishing his position on

a secure footing, he filled the city with barbarians and brought the whole island into subjection to the Great King.

When matters were in this state, and the usurper's descendants held the government, Evagoras was born. I prefer to omit the utterances of men, the responses of oracles, and the visions seen in dreams, according to which his birth would appear to have been superhuman, not because I disbelieve what is said, but in order to make it clear to all that, far from inventing any of his acts, I say nothing even about these things that are really true, with which few are acquainted, and which are not generally known to the citizens. I will commence with such facts as are beyond dispute.

When a boy, he was distinguished for beauty, strength, and modesty, the most becoming qualities at such an age. In proof of which witnesses could be produced: of his modesty, those of the citizens who were brought up with him; of his beauty, all who saw him; of his strength, the contests in which he surpassed his compeers.

When he grew to man's estate, all these qualities were proportionately enhanced, and in addition to them he acquired courage, wisdom, and uprightness, and these in no small measure, as is the case with some others, but each of them in the highest degree.

For he was so distinguished for his bodily and mental excellences, that, whenever any of the reigning princes of the time saw him, they were amazed and became alarmed for their rule, thinking it impossible that a man of such talents would continue to live in the position of a private individual, and whenever they considered his character they felt such confidence in him that they were convinced that he would assist them even if any one ventured to attack them.

In spite of such changes of opinion concerning him, they

were in neither case mistaken; for he neither remained a private individual, nor, on the other hand, did them injury, but the Deity watched over him so carefully in order that he might gain the kingdom honorably, that everything which could not be done without involving impiety was carried out by another's hands, while all the means by which it was possible to acquire the kingdom without impiety or injustice he reserved for Evagoras. For one of the nobles plotted against and slew the tyrant, and afterwards attempted to seize Evagoras, feeling convinced that he would not be able to secure his authority unless he got him also out of the way.

Evagoras, however, escaped this peril and, having got safe to Soli in Cilicia, did not show the same feelings as those who are overtaken by like misfortunes. Others, even those who have been driven from sovereign power, have their spirits broken by the weight of their misfortunes: but Evagoras rose to such greatness of soul, that, although he had all along lived as a private individual, at the moment when he was compelled to flee, he felt that he was destined to rule.

Despising vagabond exiles, unwilling to attempt to secure his return by means of strangers, and to be under the necessity of courting those inferior to himself, he seized this opportunity, as befits all who desire to act in a spirit of piety and to act in self-defence rather than to be the first to inflict an injury, and made up his mind either to succeed in acquiring the kingdom or to die in the attempt if he failed. Accordingly, having got together fifty men (on the highest estimate), he made preparations to return to his country in company with them.

From this it would be easy to recognize his natural force of character and the reputation he enjoyed amongst others; for, when he was on the point of setting sail with so small a

force on so vast an undertaking, and when all kinds of perils stared him in the face, he did not lose heart himself, nor did any of those whom he had invited to assist him think fit to shrink from dangers, but, as if they were following a god, all stood by their promises, while he showed himself as confident as if he had a stronger force at his command than his adversaries, or knew the result beforehand.

This is evident from what he did; for, after he had landed on the island, he did not think it necessary to occupy any strong position, and, after providing for the safety of his person, to wait and see whether any of the citizens would come to his assistance; but, without delay, just as he was, on that eventful night he broke open a gate in the wall, and, leading his companions through the gap, attacked the royal residence.

There is no need to waste time in telling of the confusion that ensues at such moments, the terror of the assaulted, and his exhortations to his comrades; but, when the supporters of the tyrant resisted him, while the rest of the citizens looked on and kept quiet, fearing, on the one hand, the authority of their ruler, and, on the other, the valor of Evagoras; he did not abandon the conflict, engaging either in single combat against numbers, or with few supporters against the whole of the enemy's forces, until he had captured the palace, punished his enemies, succored his friends, and finally recovered for his family its ancestral honors, and made himself ruler of the city.

I think that, even if I were to mention nothing else, but were to break off my discourse at this point, it would be easy to appreciate the valor of Evagoras and the greatness of his achievements; however, I hope that I shall be able to present both even more clearly in what I am going to say.

For while, in all ages, so many have acquired sovereign power, no one will be shown to have gained this high position more honorably than Evagoras. If we were to compare the deeds of Evagoras with those of each of his predecessors individually, such details would perhaps be unsuitable to the occasion, while time would be insufficient for their recital; but if, selecting the most famous of these men, we examine them in the light of his actions, we shall be able to investigate the matter equally well, and at the same time to discuss it more briefly.

Who would not prefer the perils of Evagoras to the lot of those who inherited kingdoms from their fathers? For no one is so indifferent to fame that he would choose to receive such power from his ancestors rather than to acquire it, as he did, and to bequeath it to his children. Further, amongst the returns of princes to their thrones that took place in old times, those are most famous which we hear of from the poets; for they not only inform us of the most renowned of all that have taken place, but add new ones out of their own imaginations. None of them, however, has invented the story of a prince who, after having undergone such fearful and terrible dangers, has returned to his own country; but most of them are represented as having regained possession of their kingdoms by chance, others as having overcome their enemies by perfidy and intrigue.

Amongst those who lived afterwards (and perhaps more than all) Cyrus, who deprived the Medes of their rule and acquired it for the Persians, is the object of most general admiration. But, whereas Cyrus conquered the army of the Medes with that of the Persians, an achievement which many (whether Hellenes or barbarians) could easily accomplish, Evagoras undoubtedly carried out the greater part of what has been mentioned by his own unaided energy and valor.

In the next place, it is not yet certain, from the expedition of Cyrus, that he would have faced the perils of Evagoras, while it is obvious, from the achievements of the latter, that he would readily have attempted the same undertakings as Cyrus. Further, while Evagoras acted in everything in accordance with rectitude and justice, several of the acts of Cyrus were not in accordance with religion; for the former merely destroyed his enemies, the latter slew his mother's father. Wherefore, if any were content to judge, not the greatness of events, but the good qualities of each, they would rightly praise Evagoras more than Cyrus.

But — if I am to speak briefly and without reserve, without fear of jealousy, and with the utmost frankness — no one, whether mortal, demigod, or immortal, will be found to have acquired his kingdom more honorably, more gloriously, or more piously than he did. One would feel still more confident of this if, disbelieving what I have said, he were to attempt to investigate how each obtained supreme power. For it will be manifest that I am not in any way desirous of exaggerating, but that I have spoken with such assurance concerning him because the facts which I state are true.

Even if he had gained distinction only for unimportant enterprises, it were fitting that he should be considered worthy of praise in proportion; but, as it is, all would allow that supreme power is the greatest, the most august, and most coveted of all blessings, human and divine. Who then, whether poet, orator, or inventor of words, could extol in a manner worthy of his achievements one who has gained the most glorious prize that exists by most glorious deeds?

However, while superior in these respects, he will not be found to have been inferior in others, but, in the first place, although naturally gifted with most admirable judgment, and

able to carry out his undertakings most successfully, he did not think it right to act carelessly or on the spur of the moment in the conduct of affairs, but occupied most of his time in acquiring information, in reflection, and deliberation, thinking that, if he thoroughly developed his intellect, his rule would be in like manner glorious, and looking with surprise upon those who, while exercising care in everything else for the sake of the mind, take no thought for the intelligence itself.

In the next place, his opinion of events was consistent; for, since he saw that those who look best after realities suffer the least annoyance, and that true recreation consists, not in idleness, but in success that is due to continuous toil, he left nothing unexamined, but had such thorough acquaintance with the condition of affairs, and the character of each of the citizens, that neither did those who plotted against him take him unawares, nor were the respectable citizens unknown to him, but all were treated as they deserved; for he neither punished nor rewarded them in accordance with what he heard from others, but formed his judgment of them from his own personal knowledge.

But, while he busied himself in the care of such matters, he never made a single mistake in regard to any of the events of everyday life, but carried on the administration of the city in such a spirit of piety and humanity that those who visited the island envied the power of Evagoras less than those who were subject to his rule; for he consistently avoided treating any one with injustice, but honored the virtuous, and, while ruling all vigorously, punished the wrong-doers in strict accordance with justice; having no need of counsellors, but, nevertheless, consulting his friends; often making concessions to his intimates, but in everything showing himself

superior to his enemies; preserving his dignity, not by knitted brows, but by his manner of life; not behaving irregularly or capriciously in anything, but preserving consistency in word as well as in deed; priding himself, not on the successes that were due to chance, but on those due to his own efforts; bringing his friends under his influence by kindness, and subduing the rest by his greatness of soul; terrible, not by the number of his punishments, but by the superiority of his intellect over that of the rest; controlling his pleasures, but not led by them; gaining much leisure by little labor, but never neglecting important business for the sake of short-lived ease; and, in general, omitting none of the fitting attributes of kings, he selected the best from each form of political activity; a popular champion by reason of his care for the interests of the people, an able administrator in his management of the state generally, a thorough general in his resourcefulness in the face of danger, and a thorough monarch from his pre-eminence in all these qualities. That such were his attributes, and even more than these, it is easy to learn from his acts themselves.

For, having found the city, when he took possession of it, reduced to a state of barbarism, and, owing to the rule of the Phœnicians, neither admitting the Hellenes to intercourse, nor acquainted with the arts, nor possessed of a mart or harbor, he corrected all these defects, acquired much additional territory, threw up new walls around it, had triremes built, and in addition so adorned it with public buildings that it was inferior to none of the cities of Hellas, and introduced such power that many of those who formerly despised it were afraid. And yet it is impossible for cities to make such progress unless they are managed by a man endowed with the natural gifts of Evagoras, such as I have

endeavored to describe a little before. Wherefore I am not afraid of being thought to exaggerate his qualities, but of falling far short of what he did.

For who could adequately describe the talents of a man who not only raised his city to a higher position, but caused the whole surrounding district to advance in the direction of mildness and moderation? Before Evagoras took the government in hand, they were so unsociable and cruel that they considered those the best rulers who behaved with the greatest severity towards the Hellenes; but now, their character has so changed that there is rivalry as to which of them shall be thought the greatest admirers of the Hellenes, and most of them take wives from amongst us and beget children, and take more pleasure in the belongings and institutions of the Hellenes than in their own; and more of those who are engaged in liberal pursuits and other branches of education generally, sojourn in these places than amongst those in whose midst they were formerly accustomed to reside. Of this revolution there is no one who would not recognize that Evagoras was the cause.

The most convincing proof of his general character and uprightness is this: Many honorable citizens of the Hellenes left their country and went to dwell in Cyprus feeling that the rule of Evagoras was milder and more equitable than their governments at home.

It would be tedious to mention all the others by name, but who does not know that Conon, who was the first man of all the Hellenes by reason of his numerous good qualities, when he was in distress came to Evagoras, selecting him out of all, because he thought that, by taking refuge with him, he would find the greatest personal security and at the same time the most speedy assistance for the city?

And, although Conon had in many other previous instances been successful, he never at any time appeared to have taken a better resolution than in regard to him; for his arrival in Cyprus gave him the opportunity of conferring, and in turn receiving, many benefits. For, in the first place, no sooner had they come into contact than they esteemed each other more highly than those who were formerly their most intimate friends. In the next place, they all along continued of one mind in regard to everything else, and held the same opinion concerning our city.

For, when they saw it subject to the Lacedæmonians and suffering a severe reverse of fortune, they were grieved and indignant, both of them with good reason; for it was Conon's natural country, while Evagoras, on account of his many and great services, had been regularly enrolled by the Athenians amongst the citizens. While they were considering how they should free it from its misfortunes, the Lacedæmonians soon afforded them the opportunity; for, when masters of the Hellenes by land and sea, they became so insatiate that they attempted to ravage Asia.

Conon and Evagoras, seizing this opportunity, while the king's generals were at a loss how to profit by the state of affairs, advised them to make war against the Lacedæmonians not by land but by sea, thinking that, if they got together a land army and gained a victory with it, the mainland alone would reap the benefit of it, but that, if they got the better on sea, the whole of Hellas would share in the results of the victory.

And this was just what happened; for, after the generals had been won over to this view and a navy had been got together, the Lacedæmonians were defeated in a naval engagement and lost their supremacy, while the Hellenes were freed,

and our city recovered some of its ancient reputation and again became leader of the allies. This certainly took place under the command of Conon, but it was Evagoras who rendered it possible and provided the greater part of the forces.

In return for these services we conferred the greatest honors upon them, and set up statues of them in the same place as the statue of Zeus the Preserver, close to it and to one another, as a memorial both of the greatness of their services and of their mutual friendship.

The king of Persia himself did not hold the same opinion concerning them; but, the greater and more glorious their deeds, the more he feared them. Concerning Conon I will speak elsewhere; but the king did not even attempt to conceal that such were his feelings towards Evagoras.

For it is well known that he displayed more anxiety about the war in Cyprus than about any other, and looked upon Evagoras as a more powerful and more formidable antagonist than Cyrus, who had disputed the kingdom with him. The most convincing proof is this: when he heard of the preparations of the latter he treated them with such contempt that, owing to his carelessness, he narrowly escaped being surprised by him in his own palace; but for a long time he was so excessively afraid of Evagoras that, even while receiving kindnesses at his hands, he prepared to make war upon him, not indeed acting therein with strict justice, although his resolve was not altogether unreasonable.

For he well knew that many, both Hellenes and barbarians, starting from humble and unimportant positions, had overthrown mighty powers, and he was aware of the high soul of Evagoras, and felt that the progress of his reputation and position did not take place by slow degrees, but that he was endowed with incomparable talent, and that Fortune assisted

him in his undertakings; so that, not from anger at the past, but from fear of the future, not alarmed for Cyprus alone, but for much greater matters, he made war against him, and entered into it with such ardor that he spent on this expedition more than fifteen thousand talents.

But Evagoras, although inferior in all the means of war, opposing his natural ability to such immense preparations, showed himself far more worthy of admiration in this than on all other occasions that I have previously mentioned. For when the Persians allowed him to be at peace, all that he possessed was his own city; but from the time that he was forced to make war he showed such valor, and had such a valuable assistant in his son Pnytagoras, that he almost got possession of the whole of Cyprus, ravaged Phœnicia, took Tyre by storm, induced Cilicia to revolt from the king, and slew such a number of his enemies that many of the Persians, when they lament their misfortunes, speak of the valor of Evagoras; and finally so sickened them of war that, although the kings of Persia always made it a practice to refuse to treat with their revolted subjects until they had become masters of their persons, they gladly made peace, breaking through this custom, but in no way disturbing the rule of Evagoras.

Within three years the Great King deprived the Lacedæmonians, who at the time were at the height of their power and reputation, of their authority, but, although he carried on war against Evagoras for ten years, he left him master of all that had been in his possession before he entered upon the war. The most remarkable thing of all was that the Great King, with his overwhelming forces, was unable to subdue the city which Evagoras captured with fifty men during the reign of another.

Indeed, what clearer proof could one give of the courage,

genius, or excellent qualities generally of Evagoras than such deeds and dangerous enterprises? for he will be shown to have surpassed, not only the exploits of all other wars, but even those of the wars of the heroes, which are celebrated by all. For they only captured Troy aided by the whole of Hellas, while Evagoras, with only one city, made war against the whole of Asia; so that, if the number of those who desired to sing his praises had equalled the number of the poets who sang the praises of the heroes, he would have gained a far greater reputation than they.

For if, omitting fables, we look at the truth, whom of the men of that generation shall we find has accomplished such glorious deeds, or has been the cause of such great revolutions in the condition of affairs? for he made himself a ruler from a private individual, and restored his family that had been entirely driven from political power to the honorable position that was their due; changed the citizens from barbarians to Hellenes, from cowards to warriors, from men of no reputation to men of renown, and, having found the country shut up from all intercourse with its neighbors, and in a state of utter savagery, made it more civilized and gentle, and, besides this, when he came to hostilities with the king, he so valiantly defended himself against him that the war about Cyprus has never been forgotten, and, when he was his ally, rendered him services so much greater than his other allies, that he admittedly contributed the greatest part of the forces for the sea-fight at Cnidus, the result which was that the king became master of the whole of Asia, and the Lacedæmonians, instead of ravaging the mainland, were compelled to fight for the safety of their own territory, while the Hellenes gained independence in place of slavery, and the Athenians made such progress that those who formerly lorded it over them came to offer to restore to them the supreme control.

So that, if any one were to ask me what I consider the greatest achievement of Evagoras,— his unremitting attention and preparations against the Lacedæmonians which produced the results I have previously mentioned, the last war, the recovery of his kingdom, or his general management of affairs, I should be greatly perplexed; for, to whichever of them from time to time I direct my thoughts, that always appears to me to be the greatest and most worthy of admiration.

Wherefore, if any of those of old have become immortal by reason of their virtue, I think that Evagoras also has shown himself worthy of this privilege, in proof whereof I adduce the fact that he spent his life on earth more happily and more favored by heaven than they. For we shall find that, while the greater number and the most famous of the demigods were overtaken by the greatest calamities, Evagoras continued from the beginning, not only the object of the greatest admiration, but also most blessed with happiness.

For in what respect was he lacking in prosperity, seeing that he had such ancestors as no one else had except he belonged to the same family, and was so superior to others in bodily and mental qualities that he was worthy to rule over, not only Salamis, but the whole of Asia, and, after having acquired his kingdom most nobly, he continued in the enjoyment of it all his life, and, though a mortal, left behind him an immortal memory, and lived so long that, while he was not without a share of old age, he nevertheless escaped the infirmities incidental to that period of life.

In addition to this, that which is considered the rarest blessing, and one most difficult to obtain, was not refused to him, but this also fell to his lot: the privilege of being blessed with an offspring at once numerous and worthy of their father. The most remarkable thing of all was, that

none of his descendants were addressed merely by private titles, but one was called king, others princes, and others princesses. Wherefore, if any of the poets have used exaggerated language concerning any one of those who preceded him, asserting that he was a god amongst men, or a mortal divinity, all these titles, applied to Evagoras, would be in complete harmony with his noble qualities.

I have doubtless omitted much that might be said of Evagoras; for I am past my prime, which would have assisted me to complete this eulogy with greater care and pains; however, even at my age, to the best of my ability, his praises have not been left unsung. My opinion, O Nicocles, is, that while bodily likenesses are excellent memorials, those of the acts and thoughts are deserving of far greater esteem, which one will only find in speeches composed according to the rules of art.

I prefer them to the former, because I know, in the first place, that honorable men do not pride themselves so much on physical beauty as they display an honorable ambition in regard to their actions and judgment; in the second place, that material representations are obliged to remain in the hands of those amongst whom they are set up, while words and speeches can be spread abroad in Hellas, and, passing from hand to hand, meet with approval in the conversations of learned men, whose favor it is better to enjoy than that of any others; and further, that no one would model his bodily nature on statues and pictures, while it is easy for those who do not choose to be idle, but wish to be good men, to imitate the manners and ideas of others that are contained in spoken discourse.

For these reasons above all others I have attempted to compose this speech, feeling convinced that it would be the

best encouragement to you and your children and all the descendants of Evagoras, if any one were to gather together his virtues, and, setting them off with eloquence, were to offer them to you for contemplation and as the subject of your thoughts.

For we exhort others to the study of philosophy by praising their fellows, in order that, emulating those who are well spoken of, they may be eager for the same virtues as they possess; but I call upon you and yours, appealing not to the example of foreigners, but of your own family, and exhort and advise you to devote your attention to proving yourself inferior to none of the Hellenes either in word or deed.

And do not think that I am accusing you of indifference, because I am frequently exhorting you on the same subject. For it is not unknown either to myself or others that you are the first and only one of those living in the enjoyment of monarchy, wealth, and luxury, who has attempted to pursue the study of philosophy laboriously, nor that you will cause many kings to desire such pursuits, and abandon those in which they now take such delight, from their ambition to rival your learning.

But, although I know this, none the less do I now act, and shall continue to act, as the spectators at the athletic games, who encourage those competitors in the race who are struggling for victory, not those who are distanced and left behind.

It is my duty, then, and that of all your other friends, to speak and write in such a manner as may be likely to incite you to be eager to reach the goal which you now desire; as for you, it behoves you to neglect nothing, but, as in the past, so in the future, to attend to yourself, and to exercise your abilities, that you may prove worthy both of your father and your ancestors. For it is the duty of all to set a high

value on wisdom, but especially is it incumbent on those who, like yourself, are possessed of power so great and extensive.

Nor must you be content with being already superior to your contemporaries, but you ought to feel indignant if, endowed as you are by nature, remotely descended from Zeus, and in most recent times from a man of such distinguished excellence, you do not far surpass all others, and, above all, those who enjoy the same honors as yourself. It is in your own power to avoid failure in this; for, if you continue in the pursuit of philosophy and maintain your present progress, you will soon become such a man as it behoves you to be.

[Translated by J. A. Freese, M.A.]

XENOPHON

XENOPHON, the famous Greek general and historian, was born at Athens about 431 B.C. He very early became a follower of Socrates, whose acquaintance he made in boyhoood. He entered the service of Cyrus, the younger brother of Artaxerxes, in 402, and accompanied the expedition against the king. After Cyrus had recklessly thrown away his life at the battle of Cunaxa, and the Greek generals had been treacherously assassinated, Xenophon was elected as one of the new commanders, and showed consummate ability in conducting the "Ten Thousand" in their famous march from central Persia to the sea. After the lapse of twenty centuries his conduct of that famous retreat stands out as one of the triumphs of successful generalship. He afterwards related the tale of his adventures in the "Anabasis," the style of which has a straightforward simplicity which has sometimes been compared to the manner of Bunyan. Three years after his return to Greece he fought with the Spartans against the Persians, and when the latter formed their alliance with the Athenians he fought with the Spartans against them both at Coronea in 394. For his apparent want of patriotism he was banished from Athens, but, as has been pointed out, his course indicates rather the complexity of Hellenic politics than any especial act of treachery on his part. For many years he lived at Scillus in Sparta, and when, in his old age, Sparta and Athens were united against Thebes, his banishment was revoked. His death occurred in 355. His works, besides the "Anabasis," include the "Hellenica," or Greek history down to the battle of Mantinea, 362; "The Cyropædia, or the Education of Cyrus," a historical novel; "Memorabilia, or Recollections of Socrates;" "The Apology of Socrates," and many other writings.

SPEECH IN COUNCIL OF WAR

[The new commanders elected by the Greek troops after the death of Cyrus and the assassination of their former generals immediately held a council of war to determine their future movements; at this meeting Xenophon made the following address:]

OF the perjury and perfidy of the barbarians Cleanor has just spoken, and you, I am sure, are well aware of it. If, then, we think of coming again to terms of friendship with them, we must of necessity feel much distrust on that head when we see what our generals have

suffered who, in reliance on their faith, put themselves into their hands; but if we propose to inflict on them vengeance with our swords for what they have done, and for the future to be at war with them at all points, we have, with the help of the gods, many fair hopes of safety.

[As he was uttering these words someone sneezed, and the soldiers, hearing it, with one impulse paid their adoration to the god; and Xenophon continued:]

Since, soldiers, while we were speaking of safety, an omen from Jupiter the Preserver has appeared, it seems to me that we should vow to that god to offer sacrifices for our preservation on the spot where we first reach a friendly country; and that we should vow, at the same time, to sacrifice to the other gods according to our ability. And to whomsoever this seems reasonable, let him hold up his hand.

[All held up their hands; and they then made their vows and sang the pæan. When the ceremonies to the gods were duly performed, he recommenced thus:]

I was saying that we had fair hopes of safety. In the first place, we have observed our oaths made to the gods; but the enemy have perjured themselves and broken the truce and their oaths. Such being the case, it is natural that the gods should be unfavorable to our enemies, and should fight on our side,— the gods, who are able, whenever they will, to make the mighty soon weak, and to save the weak with ease, although they be in grievous perils.

In the next place I will remind you of the dangers in which our ancestors were, that you may feel conscious how much it becomes you to be brave, and how the brave are preserved, even from the greatest troubles, by the aid of the gods. For when the Persians, and those united with them, came with a numerous host, as if to sweep Athens from the

face of the earth, the Athenians, by daring to oppose them, gave them a defeat; and having made a vow to Diana that whatever number they should kill of the enemy they would sacrifice to her divinity the same number of goats, and not being able to find enough, they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every year; and to this day they still continue to sacrifice them.

Again, when Xerxes, having collected that innumerable army of his, came down upon Greece a second time, our ancestors on that occasion, too, defeated the ancestors of these barbarians, both by land and sea; of which exploits the trophies are still to be seen as memorials. The greatest of all memorials, however, is the liberty of the states in which you were born and bred, for you worship no man as master, but the gods alone. Of such ancestors are you sprung.

Nor am I going to say that you dishonor them. It is not yet many days since you arrayed yourselves in the field against the descendants of those barbarians, and defeated, with the help of the gods, a force many times more numerous than yourselves. On that occasion you showed yourselves brave men to procure a throne for Cyrus; and now, when the struggle is for your own lives, it becomes you to be more valiant and resolute.

At present, too, you may justly feel greater confidence against your adversaries; for even then, when you had made no trial of them, and saw them in countless numbers before you, you yet dared, with the spirit of your fathers, to advance upon them, and now, when you have learned from experience of them that, though many times your number, they shrink from receiving your charge, what reason have you any longer to fear them?

And do not consider it any disadvantage that the troops of

Cyrus, who were formerly arrayed on our side, have now left us; for they are far more cowardly than those who were defeated by you; at least they deserted us to flee to them, and those who are so ready to commence flight it is better to see posted on the side of the enemy than in our own ranks.

If, again, any of you are disheartened because we have no cavalry and the enemy have a great number, consider that ten thousand cavalry are nothing more than ten thousand men; for no one ever perished in battle of being bitten or kicked by a horse; it is the men that do whatever is done in the encounter.

Doubtless we, too, rest upon a surer support than cavalry have, for they are raised upon horses, and are afraid, not only of us, but also of falling, while we, taking our steps upon the ground, shall strike such as approach us with far greater force, and hit much more surely the mark at which we may aim. In one point alone, indeed, have the cavalry the advantage, that it is safer for them to flee than for us.

But if, though you have courage for battle, you are disquieted at the thought that Tissaphernes will no longer guide you, and that the king will no longer supply you with provisions, consider whether it is better to have Tissaphernes for our guide, who is manifestly plotting our destruction, or such persons as we ourselves may seize and compel to be our guides, who will be conscious that if they go wrong with regard to us they go wrong with regard to their own lives and persons; and as to provisions, whether is it better for us to purchase, in the markets which they provide, small measures of food for large sums of money (no longer, indeed, having the money), or, if we are successful in the field, to take supplies for ourselves, adopting whatever measure each of us may wish to use?

Again, if you think that this state of things will be better,

but imagine that the rivers will be impassable, and that you were greatly misled when you came across them, reflect whether the barbarians have not acted most unwisely also in this respect. For all rivers, though they may be impassable at a distance from their sources, are easy to be forded by those who go to their springs, wetting them not even to the knees.

But even if the rivers shall not afford us a passage, and no guide shall appear to conduct us, we still need not be in despair; for we know that the Mysians, whom we should not call more valiant than ourselves, have settled themselves, against the king's will, in many rich and large cities in the king's territory; we know that the Pisidians have acted similarly; and we have ourselves seen that the Lycaonians, having seized on the strongholds in the plains, enjoy the produce of the land of these barbarians; and I should recommend that we, for the present, should not let it be seen that we are eager to start homewards, but should apparently make arrangements as if we thought of settling somewhere in these parts; for I am sure that the king would grant the Mysians many guides, and give them many hostages to send them out of the country safely, and even make roads for them, though they should desire to depart in four-horse chariots; and for ourselves, too, I am convinced that he would with thrice as much pleasure do the same if he saw us making dispositions to remain here.

But I am afraid that if we should once learn to live in idleness, to revel in abundance, and to associate with the fair and stately wives and daughters of the Medes and Persians, we should, like the lotus-eaters, think no more of the road homewards.

It seems to me, therefore, both reasonable and just, that we should first of all make an attempt to return to Greece and

to the members of our families, and let our countrymen see that they live in voluntary poverty, since they might see those who are now living at home without due means of subsistence enriched on betaking themselves hither. But I need say no more on this head, for it is plain, my fellow soldiers, that all these advantages fall to the conquerors.

I must also suggest to you, however, in what manner we may proceed on our way with the greatest safety, and how we may fight, if it should be necessary to fight, to the greatest possible advantage. First of all, then, he continued, it seems to me that we ought to burn whatever carriages we have, that our cattle may not influence our movements, but that we may march whithersoever it may be convenient for the army; and then that we should burn our tents with them, for tents are troublesome to carry and of no service either for fighting or in getting provisions.

I think also that we ought to rid ourselves of whatever is superfluous in the rest of our baggage, reserving only what we have for war, or for meat and drink, that as many of us as possible may be under arms, and as few as possible baggage-bearers; for you are aware that whatever belongs to the conquered becomes the property of others: and if we are victorious we ought to look upon the enemy as our baggage-carriers.

It only remains for me to mention a particular which I consider to be of the greatest importance. You see that the enemy did not venture openly to commence war against us until they had seized our generals, thinking that as long as we had commanders and were obedient to them we should be in a condition to gain the advantage over them in the field, but on making prisoners of our generals they expected that we should perish from want of direction and order. It is incumbent, therefore, on our present commanders to be far

more vigilant than our former ones, and on those under command to be far more orderly, and more obedient to their officers, at present than they were before. And if you were also to pass a resolution that, should any one be disobedient, whoever of you chances to light upon him is to join with his officer in punishing him, the enemy would by that means be most effectually disappointed in their expectations, for on the very day that such resolution is passed they will see before them ten thousand Clearchuses instead of one, who will not allow a single soldier to play the coward.

But it is now time for me to conclude my speech; for in an instant perhaps the enemy will be upon us. Whosoever, therefore, thinks these suggestions reasonable, let him give his sanction to them at once, that they may be carried into execution. But if any other course, in any one's opinion, be better than this, let him, even though he be a private soldier, boldly give us his sentiments; for the safety which we all seek is a general concern."

[Cheirisophus then said, "Should there be need of any other measure in addition to what Xenophon proposes, it will be in our power to bring it forward by and by; what he has now suggested we ought, I think, to vote at once to be the best course that we can adopt; and to whomsoever this seems proper let him hold up his hand;" and they all held them up. Xenophon then, rising again, said:]

Hear, soldiers, what appears to me to be necessary in addition to what I have laid before you. It is plain that we must march to some place from which we may get provisions; and I hear that there are some good-looking villages not more than twenty stadia distant; but I should not wonder if the enemy (like cowardly dogs that run after such as pass by them, and bite them if they can, but flee from those who pursue them),

I should not wonder, I say, if the enemy were to follow close upon us when we begin to march.

It will, perhaps, be the safer way for us to march, therefore, forming a hollow square of the heavy armed troops, in order that the baggage and the large number of camp-followers may be in greater security within it; and if it be now settled who is to lead the square, and regulate the movements in front, who are to be on each flank, and who to have charge of the rear, we shall not have to consider of these things when the enemy approach, but may at once act according to what has been arranged.

If, then, any one else sees anything better to recommend, let it be settled otherwise; if not, let Cheirisophus lead, since he is also a Lacedæmonian; let two of the oldest generals take the command on each of the flanks; and let Timasion and myself, the youngest of the officers, take charge, at least for the present, of the rear. After a time, when we have tried this arrangement, we will consider, as occasion may require, what may seem best to be done. If any one thinks of any better plan than this, let him speak.

[As nobody made any objection, he said, "Whosoever likes these proposals, let him hold up his hand." The proposals were approved.]

And now it belongs to you to go and carry into execution what has been decided upon; and whosoever of you wishes to see his friends and relations, let him prove himself a man of valor, for by no other means can he succeed in attaining that object; whoever of you desires to preserve his life, let him strive to conquer, for it is the part of conquerors to kill, but of the conquered to die; and if any one of you covet spoil, let him endeavor to secure victory for us, for it is the privilege of victors at once to save their own property and to seize on that of the vanquished."

DEFENCE AGAINST FALSE ACCUSATION

[Xenophon, being accused of encouraging the army to sail to the Phasis, defended himself in a formal speech, which was the means of bringing certain of the soldiers, who had insulted the ambassadors from Cerasus, to punishment.]

I HEAR, soldiers, that some one accuses me of intending to deceive you and to take you to the Phasis. Hear me, therefore, in the name of the gods, and if I appear to have done wrong I ought not to depart hence till I have suffered due punishment; but if, on the contrary, my accusers are proved to be in the wrong, treat them, I beseech you, as they deserve.

You doubtless know, he continued, where the sun rises and where it sets, and that whoever intends to go to Greece must proceed towards the west, and whoever would go to the barbarians, in the contrary direction, towards the east; and is there any one, then, who would be able deceitfully to persuade you that the sun rises in this quarter and sets in that, sets here, and rises there?

You also know that the north wind carries you out of the Euxine Sea towards Greece, and the south wind inwards towards the Phasis; and you exclaim, when the north wind blows, that it is fair sailing for Greece. Is it possible, then, that any one could deceive you with regard to this to induce you to embark when the south wind is blowing? But you will say, perhaps, I shall put you on board when it is calm.

I, however, shall sail but in one ship, and you in a hundred at least; and how then could I force you to sail with me against your will, or lead you away by deceit? But I will suppose that you are deceived and bewitched by me, and arrive at the

Phasis; we then land in the country; you will know very well that you are not in Greece, and I, who have deceived you, shall be but one, while you, who have been deceived, will be nearly ten thousand, with arms in your hands; and how could one individual more effectually bring vengeance on himself than by planning thus concerning himself and you?

But these charges proceed from foolish men, and men who are jealous of me because I am honored by you; though indeed they are jealous without reason; for which of them do I hinder from speaking before you, if he has anything to propose for your advantage, or from fighting, if he wishes, for you and himself, or from watching, if he cares to do so, for your safety? When you choose officers, do I stand in the way of any one? I am ready to resign; let another take the command; only let him show that he would do something for your advantage.

What I have said, however, upon this point, is sufficient. But if any one of you thinks that he could of himself have been deceived in this matter, or that any other person could have deceived him in it, let him speak and make known his thoughts to us.

When you are satisfied on this head, do not disperse until you have heard something of a sort of conduct, which I perceive is beginning to show itself among the troops; for if it goes on, and becomes what it threatens to be, it is time for us to consider about ourselves, that we may not appear in the sight of gods and men, of enemies and friends, to be the basest and most infamous of all men, and bring ourselves utterly into contempt.

[The soldiers, on hearing these words, wondered what the matter could be, and desired him to proceed. He accordingly resumed his speech:]

You are aware that there were some places upon the mountains belonging to the barbarians, and in alliance with the people of Cerasus, from which some of the inhabitants came down to us, and offered to sell us cattle for sacrifice, and such other things as they had. Some of you seem to have gone to the nearest of these places, and to have made some purchases and returned.

Clearchus, one of the captains, understanding that this place was small and unguarded, because the people supposed that they were in friendship with us, went against it in the night to plunder it, without telling any of us of his intention.

He had purposed, if he should take the place, not to return again to the army, but, embarking in a vessel, in which his comrades were sailing along the coast, and putting on board whatever he got, to sail clear away out of the Euxine. His companions in the vessel had concerted all this with him, as I now learn. Assembling, therefore, as many as he could induce to follow him, he led them towards the place. But daylight overtook him on his way, and the inhabitants, collecting together, and hurling missiles and using other weapons from their places of defence, killed Clearchus and several of the rest; some few of them retreated to Cerasus.

These occurrences happened on the day on which we set out hither from Cerasus by land, and while some of those who were to sail along the coast were still at Cerasus, not having as yet weighed anchor. After this, as the people of Cerasus state, three of the older men came from the place, desiring to have an interview with our common assembly. As they did not find us, they told the people of Cerasus that they wondered why we had thought of attacking them. The people of Cerasus, however, said that when they told them that the outrage had not been com-

mitted by public authority, they were delighted, and were going to sail hither to give us an account of what had happened, and to invite those who wished it to take their dead and bury them. But some of the Greeks that had fled happened to be still at Cerasus, and, discovering whither the barbarians were going, had the daring to throw stones at them themselves, and encouraged others to do the same. Thus these men, the three deputies, were stoned to death.

When this crime was committed, some of the people of Cerasus came to us and gave us an account of the affair. We, the generals, on listening to it, were greatly concerned at what had happened, and consulted with the men from Cerasus how the dead Greeks might be buried. As we were sitting in council outside the quarters of the heavy-armed men, we suddenly heard a great outcry of voices, "Strike, strike, throw, throw!" and immediately saw a great number of men running together with stones in their hands, and others picking them up.

The people of Cerasus, as having witnessed what had happened among themselves, retreated in fear to their vessels; and there were some of us, by Jove, who were also in fear. I, for my part, went up to them, and asked them what the matter was. Some of them knew nothing about it; and yet had stones in their hands. When at length I met with one who did know, he told me that the commissaries of the market were treating the army in a manner not to be endured.

At this moment one of the soldiers perceived the commissary Zelarchus retreating towards the sea, and called out; the rest, hearing the cry, rushed towards him as if a wild boar or a stag had appeared. The men of Cerasus, seeing the soldiers hurrying in their direction, and thinking that they were coming to attack them, fled in all haste, and threw themselves

into the sea; when some of our men threw themselves in likewise, and such as did not know how to swim were drowned.

Why do you think that these men fled? They had done no wrong; but they were afraid that some madness, like that of dogs, must have seized our men. If things are to go on thus, consider what will be the state of our army.

You, as a body, will not have the privilege either of commencing war with whom you please, or of breaking it off, but every man that chooses may lead off troops of his own will, on whatever enterprise he thinks proper. And if any deputies come to you, to ask for peace or anything else, whoever pleases may, by putting them to death, prevent you from hearing the requests of those who apply to you.

Besides, those whom you have all elected generals will then be of no authority, but whoever may elect himself general, and be inclined to cry, "Throw, throw," will be able to put to death either officer or private among you, whomsoever he pleases, without a trial, at least if men be found, as in this recent instance, to obey him.

Consider, too, what these self-elected leaders have done for you. If Zelarchus the commissary has done you any wrong, he has sailed off without making any atonement to you; if he has done you none, he has fled from the camp for fear of being put to death unjustly and without trial. Those who stoned the deputies have made it unsafe for you alone, of all the Greeks, to go to Cerasus, unless with a powerful force; and with regard to the dead, whom, previously, those that killed them invited you to bury, they have rendered it no longer safe for you to carry them off, even though attended with a herald's staff. Who, indeed, that has killed heralds, will be willing to go as a herald? However, we have requested the people of Cerasus to bury them.

If these proceedings be right, let them be sanctioned by you, in order that, as such conduct is to be pursued, every man may procure a guard for himself and endeavor to pitch his tent in a strong and advantageous position. But if such acts appear to you rather those of wild beasts than of men, contrive some mode of putting a stop to them; or, if you do not, how, in the name of Jupiter, shall we sacrifice to the gods with any satisfaction while we are guilty of impious deeds? Or how shall we fight with our enemies if we kill one another? Or what city will receive us with friendship, that sees such lawlessness among us? Or who, with any confidence, will offer us provisions for sale, if we are found to offend in things of such moment? Or, in the country where we expected to obtain the praise of all, who will praise us if we bear such a character? For I am very certain that we should pronounce others, who should be guilty of such acts, to be bad men.

[Translated from "The Anabasis" by Rev. J. S. Watson, M. A., M. R. S. L.]

ISÆUS

ISÆUS, the fifth of the ten Attic orators, was born about 420 B.C. According to Plutarch he was a native of Calchis in Eubœa; other authorities represent him as an Athenian. He was a pupil of Isocrates, and his speeches were almost entirely concerned with private cases. He was the first great forensic orator. He resembles Lysias in his diction, but, unlike Lysias, he did not formally divide his speech into introduction, narrative, argument, and epilogue, but suited it to the needs of each individual case and appealed to the intelligence of his hearers instead of attempting to gain their sympathies by graphic presentation. According to all accounts he appears to have taken no part in public affairs. One of his best titles to remembrance is that he was the teacher of Demosthenes. Eleven of his speeches survive, their dates ranging from 389 to 352, the eleventh being perhaps the most elaborate.

MENEXENUS AND OTHERS AGAINST DICÆOGENES AND LEOCHARES

[Dicæogenes, whose estate was in dispute, had four sisters, all of whom were married and had issue. When he died without children, his uncle, Proxenus, produced a will by which the deceased appeared to have left a third part of his estate to his cousin, Dicæogenes. This cousin, not content with a share, insisted that he had a right to the whole, and, having set up another will in his own favor, took possession of the remaining two-thirds of the property. This belonged to the sisters of the deceased, who proved the second will to be a forgery; upon this Dicæogenes undertook to restore the two-thirds without diminution, and one Leochares was his surety, but on their refusal to perform their promise the nephews of the elder Dicæogenes began a suit against them for the performance of their agreement.]

WE had imagined, judges, that all agreements made in court concerning this dispute would have been specifically performed; for, when Dicæogenes disclaimed the remaining two thirds of this estate, and was bound, together with his surety, to restore them without any controversy, on the faith of this assurance we gave a release of our demands: but now, since he refuses to perform his engage-

ment, we bring our complaint, conformably to the oath which we have taken, against both him and his surety Leochares.

[*The Oath.*]

That we swore truly, both Cephisodotus, who stands near me, perfectly knows, and the evidence, which we shall adduce, will clearly demonstrate. Read the depositions.

[*Evidence.*]

You have heard the testimony of these witnesses, and I am persuaded that even Leochares himself will not venture to assert that they are perjured; but he will have recourse perhaps to this defence, that Dicæogenes has fully performed his agreement, and that his own office of surety is completely satisfied. If he allege this, he will speak untruly and will easily be confuted; for the clerk shall read to you a schedule of all the effects which Dicæogenes, the son of Menexenus, left behind him, together with an inventory of those which the defendant unjustly took; and if he affirms that our uncle neither had them in his lifetime nor left them to us at his death, let him prove his assertion; or if he insists that the goods were indeed ours, but that we had them restored to us, let him call a single witness to that fact; as we have produced evidence on our part that Dicæogenes promised to give us back the two thirds of what the son of Menexenus possessed, and that Leochares undertook to see him perform his promise. This is the ground of our action, and this we have sworn to be true. Let the oath again be read.

[*The Oath.*]

Now, judges, if the defendants intended only to clear themselves of this charge, what has already been said would be sufficient to ensure my success; but, since they are prepared to enter once more into the merits of the question concerning the inheritance, I am desirous to inform you on our side of all

the transactions in our family; that, being apprised of the truth, and not deluded by their artifices, you may give a sentence agreeable to reason and justice.

Menexenus our grandfather had one son named Dicæogenes, and four daughters, of whom Polyaratus my father married one; another was taken by Democles of Phrearrhi; a third by Cephisophon of Pæania; and the fourth was espoused by Theopompus the father of Cephisodotus. Our uncle Dicæogenes, having sailed to Cnidos in the Parhalian galley, was slain in a sea fight; and, as he left no children, Proxenus the defendant's father brought a will to our parents, in which his son was adopted by the deceased and appointed heir to a third part of his fortune; this part our parents, unable at that time to contest the validity of the will, permitted him to take; and each of the daughters of Menexenus, as we shall prove by the testimony of persons then present, had a decree for her share of the residue.

When they had thus divided the inheritance and had bound themselves by oath to acquiesce in the division, each person possessed his allotment for twelve years; in which time, though the courts were frequently open for the administration of justice, not one of these men thought of alleging any unfairness in the transaction; until, when the state was afflicted with troubles and seditions, this Dicæogenes was persuaded by Melas the Egyptian, to whom he used to submit on other occasions, to demand from us all our uncle's fortune and to assert that he was appointed heir to the whole.

When he began his litigation we thought he was deprived of his senses; never imagining that the same man, who at one time claimed as heir to a third part, and at another time as heir to the whole, could gain any credit before this tribunal; but when we came into court, although we urged more argu-

ments than our adversary and spoke with justice on our side, yet we lost our cause; not through any fault of the jury, but through the villainy of Melas and his associates, who, taking advantage of the public disorders, assumed a power of seizing possessions to which they had no right, by swearing falsely for each other. By such men, therefore, were the jury deceived; and we, overcome by this abominable iniquity, were stripped of our effects; for my father died not long after the trial and before he could prosecute, as he intended, the perjured witnesses of his antagonist.

On the very day when Dicæogenes had thus infamously prevailed against us, he ejected the daughter of Cephisophon, the niece of him who left the estate, from the portion alloted to her; took from the wife of Democles what her brother had given her as coheiress; and deprived both the mother of Cephisodotus and the unfortunate youth himself of their whole fortune. Of all these he was at the same time guardian and spoiler, next of kin, and cruellest enemy; nor did the relation which he bore them excite in the least degree his compassion; but the unhappy orphans, deserted and indigent, became destitute even of daily necessities.

Such was the guardianship of Dicæogenes their nearest kinsman! who gave to their avowed foes what their father Theopompus had left them, illegally possesses himself of the property which they had from their maternal uncle and their grandfather; and (what was the most open act of cruelty) having purchased the house of their father and demolished it, he dug up the ground on which it stood, and made that handsome garden for his own house in the city.

Still further; although he receives an annual rent of eighty minas from the estate of our uncle, yet such are his insolence and profligacy that he sent my cousin, Cephisodotus, to Cor-

inth as a servile attendant on his brother Harmodius; and adds to his other injuries this cruel reproach, that he wears ragged clothes and coarse buskins; but is not this unjust, since it was his own violence which reduced the boy to poverty?

On this point enough has been said. I now return to the narration from which I have thus digressed. Menexenus then, the son of Cephisophon, and cousin both to this young man and to me, having a claim to an equal portion of the inheritance, began a prosecution against those who had perjured themselves in the former cause, and convicted Lycon, whom he had first brought to justice, of having falsely sworn that our uncle appointed this Dicæogenes heir to his whole estate; when, therefore, this pretended heir was disappointed in his hopes of deluding you, he persuaded Menexenus, who was acting both for our interest and his own, to make a compromise, which, though I blush to tell it, his baseness compels me to disclose.

What was their agreement?

That Menexenus should receive a competent share of the effects on condition of his betraying us, and of releasing the other false witnesses, whom he had not yet convicted; thus, injured by our enemies, and by our friends, we remained with silent indignation; but you shall hear the whole transaction from the mouth of witnesses.

[*Evidence.*]

Nor did Menexenus lose the reward of his perfidy; for, when he had dismissed the persons accused, and given up our cause, we could not recover the promised bribe from his seducer whose deceit he so highly resented, that he came over again to our side

We, therefore, justly thinking that Dicæogenes had no right to any part of the inheritance, since his principal wit-

ness had been actually convicted of perjury, claimed the whole estate as next of kin to the deceased; nor will it be difficult to prove the justice of our claim; for, since two wills had been produced, one of an ancient date, and the other more recent; since by the first, which Proxentus brought with him, our uncle made the defendant heir to a third part of his fortune, which will Dicæogenes himself prevailed upon the jury to set aside; and since the second, under which he claims the whole, had been proved invalid by the conviction of the perjured witnesses, who swore to its validity; since, I say, both wills had been shown to be forged, and no other testament existed, it was impossible for any man to claim the property as heir by appointment, but the sisters of the deceased, whose daughters we married, were entitled to it as heirs by birth.

These reasons induced us to sue for the whole as next of kin, and each of us claimed a share; but when we were on the point of taking the usual oaths on both sides, this Leochares put in a protestation that the inheritance was not controvertible; to this protestation we took exceptions, and having begun to prosecute Leochares for perjury, we discontinued the former cause. After we had appeared in court, and urged the same arguments on which we have now insisted, and after Leochares had been very loquacious in making his defence, the judges were of opinion that he was perjured; and as soon as this appeared by the number of pellets, which were taken out of the urns, it is needless to inform you what entreaties he used both to the court and to us, or what an advantage we might then have taken; but attend to the agreement which we have made. Upon our consenting that the Archon should mix the pellets together without counting them, Dicæogenes undertook to surrender two thirds of the inheritance, and to resign them without any dispute to the sisters of the deceased;

and for the full performance of this undertaking, Leochares was his surety, together with Mnefiptolemus the Plotian; all which my witnesses will prove.

[*Evidence.*]

Although we had been thus injured by Leochares, and had it in our power, after he was convicted of perjury, to mark him with infamy, yet we consented that judgment should not be given, and were willing to drop the prosecution upon condition of recovering our inheritance; but after all this mildness and forbearance we were deceived, judges, by these faithless men; for neither has Dicæogenes restored to us the two thirds of his estate, conformably to his agreement in court; nor will Leochares confess that he was bound for the performance of that agreement. Now, if these promises had not been made before five hundred jurymen and a crowd of hearers, one cannot tell how far this denial might have availed him; but, to show how falsely they speak, I will call some witnesses who were present both when Dicæogenes disclaimed two thirds of the succession and undertook to restore them undisputed to the sisters of our uncle, and when Leochares engaged that he should punctually perform what he had undertaken: to confirm his evidence, judges, we entreat you, if any of you were then in court, to recollect what passed, and, if our allegations are true, to give us the benefit of your testimony; for, if Dicæogenes speaks the truth, what advantage did we reap from gaining the cause, or what inconvenience did he sustain by losing it?

If, as he asserts, he only disclaimed the two thirds without agreeing to restore them unencumbered, what has he lost by relinquishing his present claim to an estate the value of which he has received? For he was not in possession of the two third parts, even before we succeeded in our suit, but had

either sold or mortgaged them; it was his duty, however, to return the money to the purchasers and to give us back our share of the land; since it was with a view to this that we, not relying singly upon his own engagement, insisted upon his finding a surety. Yet, except two small houses without the walls of the city, and about sixty acres of land in the plain, we have received no part of our inheritance; nor did we care to eject the purchasers of the rest lest we should involve ourselves in litigation; for when, by the advice of Dicæogenes, and on his promise not to oppose our title, we turned Micio out of a bath which he had purchased, he brought an action against us and recovered forty minas.

This loss, judges, we incurred through the perfidy of Dicæogenes; for we, not imagining that he would recede from an engagement so solemnly made, assured the court that we would suffer any evil if Dicæogenes should warrant the bath to Micio; not that we depended on his own word, but we could not conceive that he would betray the sureties who had undertaken for him; yet this very man, who disavowed all pretensions to these two thirds, and even now admits his disavowal, had the baseness, when he was vouched by Micio, to acknowledge his warranty; whilst I, unhappy man, who had not recovered a particle of my share, was condemned to pay forty minas for having ousted a fair purchaser and left the court oppressed by the insults of this Dicæogenes. To prove the transaction I shall call my witnesses.

[*Evidence.*]

Thus have we been injured, judges, by this man; whilst Leochares, who was bound for him and has been the cause of all our misfortunes, is confident enough to deny what has been proved against him; because his undertaking was not entered in the register of the court: now, judges, as we were

then in great haste, we had time to enter part only of what had been agreed on, and took care to provide faithful witnesses of all the rest; but these men have a convenient subterfuge: what is advantageous to them they allow to be valid although it be not written, but deny the validity of what may be prejudicial to their interests unless it be in writing; nor am I surprised that they refuse to perform their verbal promises since they will not even act conformably to their written agreements.

That we speak truly, an undeniable proof shall be produced: Dicæogenes gave my sister in marriage with a portion of forty minas to Protarchides of Potamos; but, instead of paying her fortune in money he gave her husband a house which belonged to him in Ceramicus; now she had the same right with my mother to a share of this estate; when Dicæogenes, therefore, had resigned to the women two thirds of the inheritance, Leochares told Protarchides in what manner he had become a surety, and promised in writing to give him his wife's allotment if he would surrender to him the house which he had taken instead of the portion; Protarchides, whose evidence you shall now hear, consented; but Leochares took possession of his house and never gave him any part of the allotment.

[*Evidence.*]

As to the repairs of the bath and the expenses of building, Dicæogenes has already said, and will probably say again, that we have not reimbursed him, according to our engagement, for the sum which he expended on that account; for which reason he cannot satisfy his creditors nor give us the shares to which we are entitled. To answer this, I must inform you that, when we compelled him in open court to disclaim this part of the inheritance, we permitted him, by

the advice of the jury, to retain the profits of the estate, which he had enjoyed so long, by way of compensation for his expenses in repairs and for his public charges; and some time after, not by compulsion, but of our own free will, we gave him a house in the city, which we separated from our own estate and added to his third part.

This he had as an additional recompense for the materials which he had bought for his building; and he sold the house to Philonicus for fifty minas; nor did we make him this present as a reward of his probity, but as a proof that our own relations, how dishonest soever, are not undervalued by us for the sake of lucre; and even before, when it was in our power to take ample revenge of him by depriving him of all his possessions, we could not act with the rigor of justice, but were contented with obtaining a decree for part of our own property; whilst he, when he had procured an unjust advantage over us, plundered us with all possible violence, and now strives to ruin us, as if we were not his kinsmen, but his inveterate foes.

We will now produce a striking instance of our candor and of his knavery. When, in the month of December, judges, the prosecution against Leochares was carried on with firmness, both he and Dicæogenes entreated me to postpone the trial and refer all matters in dispute to arbitration; to which proposal, as if we had sustained only a slight injury, we consented; and four arbitrators were chosen, two by us, and as many by them; we then swore, in their presence, that we would abide by their award; and they told us that they would settle our controversy, if possible, without being sworn; but that, if they found it impossible to agree, they would severally declare upon oath what they thought the merits of the case. After they had interrogated us for a long time, and

inquired minutely into the whole transaction, Diotamus and Melanopus, the two arbitrators, whom we had brought, expressed their readiness to make their award, either upon oath or otherwise, according to their opinion of the truth from the testimony of both parties; but the other two, whom Leochares had chosen, refused to join in any award at all; though one of them, Diopithes, was a kinsman of Leochares, and an enemy to me on account of some former disputes, and his companion, Demaratus, was a brother of that Mnesiptolemus whom I mentioned before as one of the sureties for Dicæogenes; these two declined giving any opinion, although they had obliged us to swear that we would submit to their decision.

[*Evidence.*]

It is abominable, then, that Leochares should request you to pronounce a sentence in his favor which his own relation, Diopithes, refused to pronounce; and how can you, judges, with propriety decree for this man, when even his friends have virtually decreed against him? For all these reasons I entreat you, unless you think my request inconsistent with justice, to decide this cause against Leochares.

As for Dicæogenes, he deserves neither your compassion as an indigent and unfortunate man, nor your indulgence as a benefactor in any degree to the state; I shall convince you, judges, that neither of these characters belongs to him; shall prove him to be both a wealthy and a profligate citizen, and shall produce instances of his base conduct towards his friends, his kinsmen, and the public. First, though he took from us an estate from which he annually received eighty minas, and though he enjoyed the profits of it for ten years, yet he is neither in possession of the money nor will declare in what manner he has employed it. It is also worthy of your consideration that, when he presided over the games of his tribe

at the feast of Bacchus he obtained only the fourth prize, and was the last of all in the theatrical exhibitions and the Pyrrhic dances: these were the only offices that he has served, and these, too, by compulsion; and see how liberally he behaved with so large an income! Let me add that in a time of the greatest public calamity, when so many citizens furnished vessels of war, he would not equip a single galley at his own expense, nor even joined with another; whilst others, whose entire fortune was not equal to his yearly rents, bore that expensive office with alacrity; he ought to have remembered that it was not his father who gave him his estate, but you, judges, who established it by your decree; so that, even if he had not been a citizen, gratitude should have prompted him to consult the welfare of the city.

Again, when contributions were continually brought by all who loved their country, to support the war and provide for the safety of the state, nothing came from Dicæogenes; when Lechæum indeed was taken, and when he was pressed by others to contribute, he promised publicly that he would give three minas, a sum less than that which Cleonymus the Cretan voluntarily offered; yet even this promise he never performed; but his name was hung up on the statues of the Eponymi with an inscription asserting, to his eternal dishonor, that he had not paid the contribution, which he promised in public, for his country's service. Who can now wonder, judges, that he deceived me, a private individual, when he so notoriously deluded you all in your common assembly? Of this transaction you shall now hear the proofs.

[*Evidence.*]

Such and so splendid have been the services which Dicæogenes, possessed of so large a fortune, has performed for the city. You perceive, too, in what manner he conducts him-

self towards his relations; some of whom he has deprived, as far as he was able, of their property; others he has basely neglected, and forced, through the want of mere necessaries, to enter into the service of some foreign power. All Athens saw his mother sitting in the temple of Illithyia, and heard her accuse him of a crime which I blush to relate, but which he blushed not to commit. As to his friends, he has now incurred the violent hatred of Melas the Egyptian, who had been fond of him from his early youth, by refusing to pay him a sum of money which he had borrowed; his other companions he has either defrauded of sums which they lent him, or has failed to perform his promise of giving them part of his plunder if he succeeded in his cause.

Yet our ancestors, judges, who first acquired this estate, and left it to their descendants, conducted all the public games, contributed liberally towards the expense of the war, and continually had the command of galleys, which they equipped: of these noble acts the presents with which they were able, from what remained of their fortune after their necessary charges, to decorate the temples, are no less undeniable proofs, than they are lasting monuments of their virtue; for they dedicated to Bacchus the tripods which they won by their magnificence in their games; they gave new ornaments to the temple of the Pythian Apollo, and adorned the shrine of the goddess in the citadel, where they offered the first fruits of their estate, with a great number, if we consider that they were only private men, of statues both in brass and stone. They died fighting resolutely in defence of their country; for Dicæogenes, the father of my grandfather, Menexenus, fell at the head of the Olysian legion in Spartolus; and his son, my uncle, lost his life at Cnidos, where he commanded the Parhalian galley.

His estate, O Dicæogenes, thou hast unjustly seized and shamefully wasted, and, having converted it into money, hast the assurance to complain of poverty. How hast thou spent that money? Not for the use of the state or of your friends; since it is apparent that no part of it has been employed for those purposes; not in breeding fine horses, for thou never wast in possession of a horse worth more than three minas; not in chariots, for, with so many farms and so great a fortune, thou never hadst a single carriage even drawn by mules; nor hast thou redeemed any citizen from captivity; nor hast thou conveyed to the citadel those statues which Menexenus had ordered to be made for the price of three talents, but was prevented by his death from consecrating in the temple; and, through thy avarice, they lie to this day in the shop of the statuary: thus hast thou presumed to claim an estate to which thou hast no color of right, and hast not restored to the gods the statues, which were truly their own. On what ground, Dicæogenes, canst thou ask the jury to give a sentence in thy favor? Is it because thou hast frequently served the public offices; expended large sums of money to make the city more respectable, and greatly benefited the state by contributing bountifully towards supporting the war? Nothing of this sort can be alleged with truth. Is it because thou art a valiant soldier? But thou never once could be persuaded to serve in so violent and so formidable a war, in which even the Olynthians and the islanders lose their lives with eagerness, since they fight for this country; while thou, who art a citizen, wouldst never take arms for the city.

Perhaps the dignity of thy ancestors, who slew the tyrant, emboldens thee to triumph over us: as for them, indeed, I honor and applaud them, but cannot think that a spark of their virtue animates thy bosom; for thou hast preferred the

plunder of our inheritance to the glory of being their descendant, and wouldst rather be called the son of Dicæogenes than of Harmodius; not regarding the right of being entertained in the Prytaneum, nor setting any value on the precedence and immunities which the posterity of those heroes enjoy: yet it was not for noble birth that Harmonius and Aristogiton were so transcendently honored, but for their valor and probity; of which thou, Dicæogenes, hast not the smallest share.

[Translated by Sir William Jones.]

LYCURGUS

LYCURGUS, the ninth of the ten Attic orators, was born of noble ancestry at Athens about 396 B.C. He studied philosophy under Plato, and entered early upon public life. He was three times chosen manager of public revenues for a term of five years each. Under his skillful management the revenues were greatly increased, and he consequently stood so high in the esteem of the citizens that when Alexander the Great demanded his surrender as one of the active opponents of the Macedonian interests in Greece, the Athenians refused to give him up. He was a man of enlightened tastes, and adorned Athens with many fine buildings. The laws which he enacted were not only severe, but were rigorously enforced. One enactment, which forbade women to ride in chariots at the public celebration of the Mysteries, was transgressed by his own wife, whom he caused to be fined like any other offender. He was everywhere noted for his integrity and patriotism, and soon after his death, in 323, the arrest of his three sons for some fault roused Demosthenes to remonstrate publicly against such unworthy treatment of the children of so noble and patriotic a father, and they were released. Of the fifteen orations ascribed to Lycurgus, only the one against Leocrates has remained to us entire. His style of composition was dignified, but not especially pleasing.

ORATION AGAINST LEOCRATES

[After the disaster of Chæronea the Athenian people pass a decree that no man shall absent himself from the city or remove thence his wife or his children. Now one Leocrates does leave the city, going to Rhodes, and from thence to Megara, subsequently returning to Athens. Here he practises no concealment, and is prosecuted by Lycurgus on a charge of treason. The ground is shifted in the trial; for Leocrates, while acknowledging his departure from the city, denies all treasonable intent. Some would make the question one of motive, as the fact of departure is admitted while the intent is left in doubt: was it treason or legitimate business? Others are for accepting the declaration of the defendant that he went with no treasonable intent, but in the course of his business. This argument is similar to the one for the oration against Antolocos.]

YE men of Athens: in the course of law I open my action against the defendant, Leocrates, but I undertake it also as a sacred duty to ourselves and to our gods. My prayer goes out to Athena, and to all our gods and heroes, whose features meet our eyes at every turn here in the city

and through all the land; a prayer that if I prove my case against this man, prove him a traitor to their seats and shrines and graves, to the service that our fathers hallowed and is our inheritance, I may by their aid this day prove worthy to strike at the crime of Leocrates, for the weal of the people and the city. My prayer is for you as well: parents and children and wives, fatherland, faith, are all in the issue to-day; and here for your verdict is held the traitor to one and all. Judges inexorable, now and forever, may all such find you as shall be guilty of the like transgression. And my prayer extends to the culprit. For if in this trial I establish it not that the man is a traitor to his country, that he abandoned the city and the faith, then shall he depart out of jeopardy, absolved of the gods, and absolved of you, his judges.

Now gentlemen, whereas it is in the public interest to have men in the town who will undertake the prosecution of transgressors, I could wish that their readiness were regarded by the people at large as a token of public spirit. On the contrary, things have come to such a pass that the man who assumes personal responsibility, who faces malignity on behalf of the public, is not regarded as a man of public spirit: he is called a busybody. Such sentiment is neither just nor conducive to the well-being of the nation. We have three great safeguards and supports of popular government and the prosperity of the city: first, our system of laws; second, your judicial suffrage; and third, the privilege of laying criminal cases before you. The law serveth to define forbidden acts; the prosecutor to denounce those who have rendered themselves liable to its provisions; while judges are for dealing the penalty when law has prescribed and the prosecutor has made his case. Thus neither law nor the suffrage can avail if there be no man to bring the action.

Now, men of Athens, I know that Leocrates had run from the dangers that beset the country; that he had abandoned his own townspeople; had forsworn your jurisdiction; was obnoxious to all the commandments; and in this knowledge did I bring my action; not from any hatred of the man; not from a love of strife; but feeling it a shame to see him around, thrusting himself upon our meetings, admitted to our sacred privileges, a living disgrace to the country and to his fellow men. It is the duty of a good citizen not to carry into public discussion the animosities of private life, but, conversely, to make the public wrongs his own, shunning in private all his country's foes.

Any state trial is rightly of consequence in your eyes: none can be more so than the one in which you are to render your verdict this day. When you pass upon the cases of transgression, one thought of caution ever fills your minds: What injury to the city may this vote involve? And the case to come before you affects the city, not in some slight degree, and not for some little time. The issue is national; and down all the ages of the future the men to come will bear your course in mind. The delinquency is so terrible, so monstrous: who can portray it as it is? who find a punishment condign? Law hath no vengeance that can match this crime. What are the pangs that are fit for a man that deserted his country? that held himself aloof when the sacred heritage was imperilled? that abandoned the graves of the fathers? that gave the city over for the foot of the foe to tread? Death stands in the eye of the law for the final great expiation; but oh, how far short it comes when we measure the villainy of a Leocrates! Our scale of crimes we find is far outgrown, gentlemen; not that the framers of the laws were lax, but because in the days of yore no such experience had been their lot; no

such contingency was as yet conceivable. Thus, gentlemen, your duty in the judgment of this present crime is the establishment of the precedent. In cases of the crimes that a law has already defined, the administration of justice by the regular procedure is easy; but when the law transcends particulars, can do no more than trace the principle, then with a man whose sins outreach the statutes, obnoxious to the very life of law, then is the time that your judgment must stand as the precedent for all posterity. Mistake it not, gentlemen; for with whatsoever judgment ye shall judge this man, such to the young shall your guidance be in the path of virtue. There are two things that influence young people most: the measure of punishment that is dealt to evil-doers, and the measure of reward that followeth all good men. With both before their eyes, they do flee from the one from the dread of shame and cleave to the other for love of their good name. Take then your cognizance of this action; and of all considerations let justice, and justice only, sway your minds.

My charges shall be made in all good faith: I will not embellish: I will not stray from the facts. Many who appear before you reach the height of irrelevance; making their discourse upon topics of the time, or blazing away at random regardless of the specific question. It is easy enough for an orator to declare his opinions on something you are not going to consider, easy enough to attack what no one is going to defend. It is not proper for him to be urging you to cast a righteous ballot while he is making you an unrighteous plea. On your own heads be it, gentlemen: you have allowed this latitude in the pleas that have been made before you, and that too when you have had that fairest model in all Grecian life, the sanhedrim of the Areopagus, so far above other tribunals that even those who faced it to their doom could not

impeach the honor of the court. Turn thither for your inspiration, and suffer not those who digress from the matter at issue. Then shall the defendant be guaranteed against false witness; the prosecutor never dream of fawning upon you; your verdict follow your oath, and that alone.

One point, gentlemen, should not escape you: it is no trial of an ordinary defendant. With some obscure man, what Greek would call your verdict good or bad? In this man's case your word shall go all over the Greek world from tongue to tongue. He is notorious for his flight to Rhodes and for the tale he told about you there in the city of the Rhodians and among the business men established there. They in their commerce went sailing around the civilized world, telling about Athens the stories they had heard from Leocrates, well aware the while what a contrast there was between the deeds of a Leocrates and the deeds of the fathers of Athens. Urgent indeed is the call for a righteous judgment upon him. Forget it not, Athenians; in so far as ye are not as other men are, in reverence for the gods, in honor to your ancestors, in devotion to country, so much more heedless of it all should ye appear if this man scatheless escaped you.

I ask you, men of Athens, to hear my charge to the end. Lay it not to my charge if I begin with the history of that sad time; but reserve your wrath for those whose acts compel me to call these things to remembrance.

Chæronea had been fought and lost. The assembly forthwith convened. You were all here. The people voted to bring the women and children from the outlying districts within the walls for protection, and authorized the war department to enroll for defence Athenians and outlanders alike, to any extent, at their discretion. To these measures Leocrates paid no heed at all. He packed up what things he had and

put them aboard a shallop, taking his slaves along. A ship was then in the offing ready to sail. At eventide he with his mistress, Daughter of Peace by name, made his exit by the postern down to the middle of the beach, made for the ship, and sailed away in flight. No tender thought of the harbor that saw him go; no sense of honor to the wall where one man's place lay defenceless; no loyal glance at the acropolis, at the shrines of Zeus and Athena who bring us our glad salvation. To them he turned traitor and fled; and yet betimes on them will he call to save him in the hour of peril. Away he sailed and reached the port of Rhodes; and just as if he were bearing the news of some great success, he told around what he had left behind; the old city lost, the Piræus in a state of siege; that he alone had escaped to tell the tale; presenting shamelessly his country's disaster in the light of his own salvation. So implicitly did the Rhodians credit his report that they manned their triremes and put their boats afloat. The merchants and sea-captains who were clearing for Athens put ashore their provisions and cargoes, all because of him.

The truth of my statements shall be demonstrated by complete evidence, first from your own neighbors, people whose homes are here, who are cognizant that in the war Leocrates ran and sailed from Athens; then from people who were in Rhodes at the time he told that story; then from Phyrkinos, who, as many of you know, denounced the man to the people as liable in large sums on his tax rates of twenty dollars per thousand. But before I call my witnesses, let me have one word more with you. You have grown quite familiar, gentlemen, with the resources of men under accusation, the appeals they put forth when they plead. Unerringly you must be able to detect the work of money or of influence

when divers of the witnesses fail to appear, or cannot remember, or prove to be shifty. Encourage the witnesses then to come forward without fear or favor; to take no thought save of yourselves and the state; to render to the fatherland justice and the truth; to shun not their bounden duty the way Leocrates did, but to take their solemn oaths and give their testimony as the law directs. And if they do not so, then in your names, in the name of the law, in the name of the sovereign people, will we hold them to their account. I proceed to the evidence.

[*Testimony is given.*]

Subsequently, gentlemen, in the course of time, vessels from Athens arrived at Rhodes; and then it came out that there had nothing awful befallen the city. In alarm Leocrates departed out of Rhodes and came to Megara. Here he resided for five years and more, under patronage with some Megarian; respecting not the bourns of his country, living as an outlander within sight of the land that had reared him. He recognized thus that he was an exile forever; for he sent for Amyntas, the husband of his elder sister, and Antigenes, of Xypete, a friend of his, and asked his kinsman to buy his slaves and his house; his price was a thousand dollars. Out of this sum he instructed them to pay his creditors what was due them, then give a dinner to his friends, and turn the balance over to him. Amyntas attended to the business, transferring the slaves for thirty minas to Timochares, of Acharnæ, the husband of the younger sister. As Timochares could not pay cash, he gave a note which was put in escrow with Lysicles, paying Amyntas one mina to bind the bargain. That my assertions are no mere talk, but the truth, will appear from the evidence of my witnesses. If Amyntas were still alive, we would produce him here himself: as it is, I shall call people

who knew all about the affair. I offer now in evidence, if you please, an account of the slaves and the house conveyed to Amyntas by Leocrates in Megara.

[*Evidence is offered.*]

Now let me show that forty minas were received from Amyntas by Phylomelas of Cholargos and Menelaos who was on the embassy to the king.

[*Testimony is given.*]

Please listen now to the evidence of Timochares, who bought the slaves of Amyntas for five and thirty minas; and herewith I exhibit the contract.

[*Testimony is given, and the instrument offered in evidence.*]

Gentlemen, you have heard the witnesses. It may well be that what I now declare will rouse your indignation and your scorn of this Leocrates. Not content to abscond alone with his wretched self and his money, he must needs drag with him the ancestral faith, to-day become your law because your ancestors kept it, the establishment of the fathers and the heritage of him their child, drag this to Megara, filch it from the land. He hallowed not that sacred name of old, would tear it from its home, make it forsake with him the temples and the country once its own, as if in the land of the stranger it could rise again, and for him. Athena, with no Athens there! in Megara! their land and their laws to be hers! Why did your fathers give to the land her name? Because *her* land was *here*. In the name of Athena did they put their trust: she abandons not her own. Leocrates, recreant to law and tradition and religion, took from us all, as far as in him lay, the help that is ours from on high. And not content with all these grievous wrongs, he took the capital he had withdrawn here and with it made shipments of grain from Cleopatra in Epirus into Leucas and from there into

Corinth; this in violation of your law which lays so severe a penalty on any man of Athens who shall ship grain to any port but ours. Here then is your man; traitor in war; law-breaker in business; false to the faith and the land and the law. Here he is in your jurisdiction: shall not his doom be death? shall he not serve warning to others? If not, then ye must be some listless men, whose wrath no crime can rouse.

And now in what strains did Homer voice this theme? To your fathers he was such a noble poet that they passed a law that at every pan-Athenian festival, as the five years came round, his epics alone should be delivered; thus bearing witness to the world of Greece that the greatest of works were the works for them. A salutary measure. Brevity is the nature of the law. It may not instruct: it must simply command. To the poets it must refer the life of man, to portray the human spirit in its loftiest achievement, and with the resistless argument of art our souls are swayed. It is Hector who speaks, rousing the Trojans in their country's name.

> When ye have reached the ships, fight onward, ceaselessly striving:
> What though the stroke of fate shall call some man to his glory?
> Where is the sting of death when a hero falls for his country?
> Wife and child and home are safe in the hour that the Argives
> Take to the ships once more and sail for the land of their fathers.

With strains like these, men of Athens, ringing in the ears of your sires, they could emulate the deeds of old; rising to such heights of valor that not for their own native state alone, but for all Hellas as a common fatherland, they stood ready to offer up their lives. There on Marathon they went into line in the face of the barbarians, bore down all Asia in arms, the stake their lives alone, winning security for Greece at large; not puffed up with the pride of renown, but glad their work

was worthy of its fame; of Greece the champions, masters of the heathen world; letting their deeds proclaim aloud their glory. Such was the strenuous life they led in Athens in the great days of old that once when the Lacedæmonians, valiant of men, were at war with the Messinians, the god vouchsafed them a response that bade them take a leader from our people, and then they should conquer their enemies. If then divine judgment declared in favor of our leadership even for the children of Herculea, lords for all time in Sparta, are we not justified in our faith that once Athenian valor was peerless? Who that is Greek does not know that they took one Tyrtæus for their general? And with him they overthrew their enemies. And when the immediate peril was past, they (with an admirable wisdom) turned the episode to the advantage of their youth for all time. For when Tyrtæus left them, his elegiacs were still theirs. While other poets have had no vogue among them, for him their enthusiasm has been so great that they passed a law that whenever a campaign was to open, all the men should be called to the tent of the king to hear the strains of Tyrtæus. Nothing else, they thought, could make their men so ready to lay down their lives for their country. And now the day is come when we ourselves may need the sound of those elegiacs which could make their way to the souls of Spartans:

Blest is the brave: how glorious is his prize,
When at his country's call he dares and dies.
And sad the sight when, envious of the dead,
The man without a country begs his bread.
His poor old parents feebly toil along,
And little children who have done no wrong.
Spurned by the glance he meets at every turn,
He learns how hot the beggar's brand can burn.

His name is shame: the human form divine
Shows in its fall the soul's dishonored shrine
Deeds in the dust of ages swiftly root,
And children's children reap the bitter fruit.
Strike for our country, comrades: on, ye brave!
Where is the man that dreads a patriot grave?
And ye, my younger brethren, side by side,
Shoulder to shoulder stand, whate'er betide.
The surging thrill ye feel before your foe
Swept o'er your fathers' heart-strings long ago.
To those whose days are longer in the land
Lend in the pride of youth the helping hand.
For shame to see an old man fall in front
When young men leave him there to bear the brunt:
Low in the dust the hoary hair is trailed;
At last is quenched a soul that never quailed.
Youth in its bloom should pluck the glowing bough
Whose leaves in glory wreathe a hero's brow.
Welcome to man, and fair in woman's eye,
The manly form that living dares to die.
Fate hangs apoise, with gloom and triumph fraught:
Up, hearts! and in the balance count we our lives as naught.

Noble sentiments, gentlemen, that sway the soul of him that hath ears to hear. The Spartans could hear them, and received such an impulse unto manhood that they engaged with us in a struggle for the hegemony. It was nature's rivalry; for the noblest achievements had been wrought on either side. Our ancestors had overthrown the barbarian who had set the first hostile foot upon Attic soil: in them was made manifest a manhood that no money could corrupt, a valor no host countervail. In Thermopylæ the Lacedæmonians made their stand; and though the fate they met was not like ours, yet there the ideals of human devotion became reality.

And thus on the bourns of life we can see the memorials of

the valor of our race graven with the chisel of truth unto all Greek blood:

FOR THEIRS:

Go stranger, tell the Spartans where we lie,
True to the land that taught her sons to die.

FOR YOURS:

On Marathon when Athens fought alone,
Down to the dust the golden East was thrown.

These great memories, Athenians, are the glory of the men who bequeathed them and of Athens the undying renown. Not in this wise has Leocrates wrought. The fair fame of the city, flower of the ages, deliberately hath he defiled. If then he meet death at your hands, all Greece will feel the abhorrence in which you hold such acts. If not, then are the fathers of their ancient fame bereft by the same fell stroke that wounds your brothers in citizenship. They who revere not the men of old will follow the footsteps of this man, quick to descry the path that shall lead them to favor with our enemies, quick to perceive that shamelessness, treachery, cowardice, need only a verdict from you to prove their native worth.

One word more and I am done. To your sovereign chastisement I commit the man who stands for Athenian annihilation. On your own honor and in the presence of the gods you are to give Leocrates his due. On the head of the criminal lies the crime; but in a miscarriage of justice the jurors delinquent become participant of guilt. Gentlemen, ye cast the secret ballot now; but be not deceived: not one man among you can deposit a vote that the eye of heaven does not see. In my opinion, gentlemen, your verdict to-day reaches all the

greatest and most fearful crimes at once: we behold them in the person of Leocrates: treason, for he abandoned the city to subjugation by the enemy; apostacy, for he played a coward's part in freedom's cause; sacrilege, for the groves might be felled, the temples razed, as far as he was concerned; abomination, for the memorials of our fathers might be swept away and the hallowed observances abolished; desertion, for the nidering did not report for duty in the line. Where then is the man who will vote to clear him? Who is he that will show his sympathy with crime that shows malice aforethought? Is there a man so bereft of sense that he will set Leocrates free and so place his own security at the mercy of men who would abandon him? that out of pity for Leocrates he will take no pity on himself, when his choice may mean death at the hands of the foe? that by extending clemency to a traitor he will lay himself open to the retribution of heaven?

In support of our country, religion and laws I have pleaded this case, in righteousness and in fairness, indulging in no irrelevant abuse of the man and making no charges extraneous to the case. You must all be convinced that a vote for the acquittal of Leocrates is a vote for the conviction of the country; for in the life of nations subjugation is the death. Here stand the two urns; one for your undoing, one for your redemption: vote there for the disruption of the country, vote here for her security and prosperity. Think, men of Athens: the land and the trees are pleading, the harbors, the walls are entreating, the temples and shrines are in prayer. Save them. Make of Leocrates an example. One final declaration of my confidence: this pity that fills your hearts for the tears you look upon can never avail to pervert your loyalty to the law of the land, your devotion to the people of Athens.

[Specially translated by Charles W. Stone.]

HYPERIDES

HYPERIDES, the eighth of the ten Attic orators, was the son of Glaucippus, a wealthy Athenian, and was born in 396 B.C. In philosophy he was a pupil of Plato. He was a leader in the anti-Macedonian party and was put to death with most cruel tortures by the order of Antipater in 322. By his contemporaries he was ranked second only to his teacher, Demosthenes, in power, and above him in charm of delivery, but until the nineteenth century, this high estimate had to be accepted on trust, as none of the fifty orations ascribed to him were known to exist. In 1847 three speeches by Hyperides were discovered in an Egyptian papyrus, and in 1856 a fragment of a funeral oration was brought to light. Other speeches and fragments of his have since been found, including a very characteristic speech against Athenogenes, recovered in 1891. He was equally noted for the quickness of his wit and the looseness of his private life, and was frequently the subject of the satires of the comic poets of his day.

SPEECH AGAINST ATHENOGENES

[Hyperides' client, whose name does not appear, desired to obtain a boy slave, who, with his father and brother, was the property of Athenogenes. The plaintiff proposed to purchase the liberty of the boy in question, when Athenogenes, aided by Antigona, lured the purchaser, by false representations, into buying all three slaves with their liabilities, which he pretended were but trifling. After the bargain was completed the plaintiff found that the slaves had brought him debts enough to compass his ruin; he therefore brought suit against Athenogenes and engaged Hyperides as counsel. The following speech, of which some fragments are missing, presents a satisfactory example of the orator's style. The opening sentences are lost.]

WHEN I told her the whole story and complained how hard Athenogenes was to deal with, and how he refused to make even the most reasonable concessions, she answered that he was always like that, and told me to be of good heart, as she would co-operate with me in everything. This she said in the most earnest manner possible, and confirmed her words with the most solemn oaths that she was entirely devoted to my interests and was telling

me the simple truth. And so, gentlemen,— I will hide nothing from you,— I was persuaded. Great indeed, as experience shows, is the power of love to beguile our reason, when it is reinforced by a woman's wiles! Certain it is that by her plausible cajolements she managed to pocket for herself three hundred drachmas, professedly to buy a slave girl, just as an acknowledgment of her good will towards me. And, when one comes to think of it, gentlemen, perhaps there is nothing so marvellous in my being thus twisted round the finger of Antigona, considering that in her youth she was held to be the most accomplished courtesan of the day, and that since her retirement she has been continually practising as a procuress.[1] . . . If, then, she achieved so much by her own unassisted efforts, what might she not reasonably be expected to accomplish in the present case, with Athenogenes as her partner, a professional attorney by trade, and, what is more, an Egyptian?

Well, to cut the story short, she sent for me again a little later and said that by a great expenditure of words she had with difficulty persuaded Athenogenes to release Midas and his two sons for forty minas; and she urged me to have the money ready as soon as possible, before he should change his mind. Accordingly, by dint of pestering my friends to assist me and scraping money together from all possible quarters, I raised the forty minas, and, having deposited them in the bank, I went to inform Antigona.

Thereupon she arranged a meeting between Athenogenes and myself and brought us to terms, exhorting us to behave as friends for the future. I said I would do so; whereat Athenogenes answered that I had to thank Antigona for the turn affairs had taken, adding, "Now see what a service I

[1] The orator here quoted a signal instance of the profits made or the mischief done by her in this profession, but the passage is mutilated.

will do for you for her sake. You are paying down this money to purchase the liberty of Midas and his sons. Instead of that, I will sell them formally to you as your own property. Then no outsider will be able to trouble you or get at Midas to your disadvantage, and they themselves will not try to play tricks with you, for fear of the consequences. Moreover, best of all, according to your former plan they would suppose that it was I that gave them their freedom; whereas if you buy them and then, after a time, whenever it suits you, give them their liberty, they will feel that they owe you a double debt of gratitude. As for any debts," he added, "that they may have contracted, such as the price of some unguents which they got from Pancalus and Procles, or any of the usual deposits invested by customers of the shop, you may as well take them over. They are very trifling, and there are stores in the workshop,"— unguents, he said, and alabaster scent-boxes and myrrh, and sundry other objects which he named —"which will be more than enough to enable you to discharge them easily."

Now, here, gentlemen, as it turned out, was the trick, the essence of the whole artifice. If I merely paid him down the price required in order to purchase their freedom, then I should simply lose the sum that I might have paid him, which would not have been an irretrievable disaster. But if I bought them right out, by a formal purchase, and accepted the responsibility for their debts, believing them, in my ignorance, to be inconsiderable, then he meant presently to bring all the creditors and depositors down upon me, and catch me in the net of my agreement. This is precisely what happened. The moment that I assented to his proposition, he produced a tablet from his lap, which he had there, all ready and written out, and read aloud its contents, which

were the contract to be made with me. I admit that I did indeed hear its terms as he read them, but I was in a hurry to accomplish the business for which I had come; and so he seals the contract then and there in the house, in order that no friend of mine might hear its contents. The name conjoined with mine as surety was that of Nicon of Cephisia. Then we came to the shop and deposited the tablet with Lysicles of Leuconoë; I paid over the forty minas, and the purchase was complete.

No sooner was the transaction accomplished than the creditors to whom Midas owed money and the depositors who had contributed the share capital, came and entered into communication with me, and in the course of three months the sum total of my indebtedness was revealed to me. It amounted in all, including the sums due to the depositors, to five talents, as I said just now.

When I knew the extent of my calamity I did what I should have done earlier; I summoned my friends and relations, and we read aloud the copy of the contract. In it the names of Pancalus and Polycles were expressly mentioned, with the statement that the price of certain unguents was due to them,— small amounts, which it might legitimately be said were covered by the value of the stores in the warehouse; most of the debts, however, including all the greater ones, had not been mentioned in detail, but it was merely added, as though it were an afterthought, "and any other debts that Midas may have incurred." Similarly with the deposits. One single individual, Dicæocrates, was mentioned by name, to whom three installments were still due. This liability was duly entered under the name of Dicæocrates, but the other deposits, on which Midas had received practically the whole capital, and the obligations on which were freshly incurred,

these he did not mention in the agreement, but kept the transactions perfectly secret.

After we had taken counsel together we decided to proceed to Athenogenes and talk over the matter with him. We found him near the perfumers' shops, and we asked him whether he was not ashamed of his lies and of the trap which he had laid for us in the contract by not mentioning the debts. He replied that he knew nothing of the debts of which we spoke, and that he could not be troubled to listen to us, adding that he had in his possession an agreement with me which settled the matter. Our discussion was carried on in the Agora, and a large crowd assembled which, after listening to the affair, began to cry him down and encouraged us to arrest him as a kidnapper and hale him off to justice. However, we thought that this was hardly admissible, and accordingly we took out a summons against him in the ordinary legal way, to appear for justice before your court.

In the first place, therefore, the contract shall be read to you. From the text of that you will learn the craft of our friend here. Read the contract.

[*The contract is read by the clerk.*]

Gentlemen, you have now heard the whole story in all its details. Possibly, however, Athenogenes will plead, when his turn comes, that the law declares all agreements between man and man to be binding. *Just* agreements, my dear sir. Unjust ones, on the contrary, it declares shall not be binding. I will make this clearer to you from the actual words of the laws. You need not be surprised at my acquaintance with them. You have brought me to such a pass and have filled me with such a fear of being ruined by you and your cleverness that I make it my first and main duty to search and study the laws night and day.

Now one law forbids falsehood in the market-place, and a very excellent injunction it is, in my opinion; yet you have, in open market, concluded a contract with me to my detriment by means of falsehoods. For if you can show that you told me beforehand of all the loans and debts, or that you mentioned in the contract the full amount of them, as I have since found it to be, I will abandon the prosecution and confess that I have done you an injustice.

There is, however, also a second law bearing on this point, which relates to bargains between individuals by verbal agreements. It provides that "when a party sells a slave he shall declare beforehand if he has any blemish; if he omit to do so, he shall be compelled to make restitution." If, then, the vendor of a slave can be compelled to make restitution because he has omitted to mention some chance infirmity, is it possible that you should be free to refuse responsibility for the fraudulent bargain which you have deliberately devised? Moreover, an epileptic slave does not involve in ruin all the rest of his owner's property, whereas Midas, whom you sold to me, has ruined, not me alone, but even my friends as well.

And now, Athenogenes, proceed to consider how the law stands, not only with respect to slaves, but also concerning free men. Even you, I suppose, know that children born of a lawfully betrothed wife are legitimate. The lawgiver, however, was not content with merely providing that a wife should be betrothed by her father or brother, in order to establish legitimacy. On the contrary, he expressly enacts that "if a man shall give a woman in betrothal justly and equitably, the children born of such marriage shall be legitimate," but not if he betroths her on false representations and inequitable terms. Thus the law makes just betrothals valid, and unjust ones it declares invalid.

Again, the law relating to testaments is of a similar nature. It enacts that a man may dispose of his own property as he pleases, "provided that he be not disqualified by old age or disease or insanity, or be influenced by a woman's persuasions, and that he be not in bonds or under any other constraint." In circumstances, then, in which marriages and testaments relating solely to a man's own property are invalidated, how can it be right to maintain the validity of such an agreement as I have described, which was drawn up by Athenogenes in order to steal property belonging to me?

Can it be right that the disposition of one's property by will should be nullified if it is made under the persuasions of a woman, while, if I am persuaded by Athenogenes' mistress and am entrapped by them into making this agreement, I am thereby to be ruined, in spite of the express support which is given me by the law? Can you actually dare to rest your case on the contract of which you and your mistress procured the signature by fraud, which is also the very ground on which I am now charging you with conspiracy, since my belief in your good faith induced me to accept the conditions which you proposed? You are not content with having got the forty minas which I paid for the slaves, but you must needs plunder me of five talents in addition, plucking me like a bird taken in a snare. To this end you have the face to say that you could not inform me of the amount of the debts which Midas had contracted, because you had not the time to ascertain it. Why, gentlemen, I, who brought absolute inexperience into the management of commercial matters, had not the slightest difficulty in learning the whole amount of the debts and the loans within three months; but he, with an hereditary experience of three generations in the business of a perfumery,—he, who was at his place in the market

every day of his life,— he, who owned three shops and had his accounts made up every month,— he, forsooth, was not aware of the debts! He is no fool in other matters, but in his dealings with his slave it appears he at once became a mere idiot, knowing of some of the debts, while others, he says, he did not know of,— those, I take it, which he did not want to know of. Such a contention, gentlemen, is not a defence, but an admission that he has no sound defence to offer. If he states that he was not aware of the debts, it is plain that he cannot at the same time plead that he told me all about them; and it is palpably unjust to require me to discharge debts of the existence of which the vendor never informed me.

Well, then, Athenogenes, I think it is tolerably plain on many grounds that you knew of Midas's debts, and not the least from the fact that you demanded.[1] . . .

If, however, you did not inform me of the total amount of the debts simply because you did not know it yourself, and I entered into the contract under the belief that what I had heard from you was the full sum of them, which of us ought in fairness to be liable for them,— I, who purchased the property after their contraction, or you who originally received the sums borrowed? In my opinion it should be you; but if we differ on this point let the law be our arbiter. The law was not made either by infatuated lovers or by men engaged in conspiracy against their neighbors' property, but by the most public-spirited of statesmen, Solon. Solon, knowing that sales of property are common in the city, enacted a law — and one universally admitted to be just — to the effect that fines and expenditures incurred by slaves should be discharged by the master for whom they work. And this is

[1] The rest of the column is hopelessly mutilated.

only reasonable; for if a slave effect a good stroke of business or establish a flourishing industry, it is his master who reaps the profit of it. You, however, pass over the law in silence, and are eloquent about the iniquity of breaking contracts. Whereas Solon held that a law was more valid than a temporary ordinance, however just that ordinance might be, you demand that a fraudulent contract should outweigh all laws and all justice alike.

I am told, however, that the defendant has another plea in reserve, and will argue that I brought all this mischief on my own head by disregarding his advice. He will declare that he offered to let me take the two boys, but that he urged me to leave Midas to him and not to buy him. I, however, he says, refused and insisted upon buying all three. And this, they say, he intends to plead before a court such as the present! His object, of course, is to assume the appearance of fair dealing, but he must have forgotten that he will not be addressing an audience of fools, but one quite capable of seeing through his shameless effrontery. Let me tell you the actual facts, and you will see that they are of a piece with the rest of the conduct of himself and his confederate. He sent the boy, whom I mentioned just now, to me, to say that he could not be mine unless I bought his father and his brother as well as himself. I had actually assented to this and promised to pay the price for all three of them, when Athenogenes, thinking that he now had the upper hand and wishing me to have as much trouble as possible, came to some of my friends.[1] . . .

Now I am no professional perfume-seller, neither have I learned any other trade. I simply till the land which my father gave me. It was solely by this man's craft that I was entrapped into the sale. Which is more probable on the

[1] The rest of the column is mutilated.

face of things, Athenogenes,— that I was coveting your business (a business of which I had no sort of experience), or that you and your mistress were plotting to get my money? I certainly think the design was on your side.[1] . . .

Further, at the time of the war against Philip he left the city shortly before the battle, and instead of marching out with us to Chæronea he migrated to Troezen. By so doing he broke the law which enacts that if a man migrates from the city during time of war he shall be liable to impeachment and summary arrest whenever he returns. His action shows that he had made up his mind that that city would escape peril, while he laid ours under sentence of death; and he corroborated this by not marrying his daughters here in Athens, but giving them to husbands in Troezen.[2] . . .

So while he has broken the general covenant which every citizen makes with his state, he lays stress on the private covenant which he made with me, apparently expecting people to believe that a man who is indifferent to justice in his dealings with you would have been careful to observe it in his dealings with me! Why, so universal and impartial was he in his want of principle that, when he had gone to Troezen, and the people of Troezen had conferred their citizenship upon him, he put himself under the directions of Mnesias of Argos, and having been appointed archon by his means, expelled the citizens from their own city. They will prove this to you themselves, since they are living here in exile. You, gentlemen, gave them an asylum when they were expelled from their country, you gave them your citizenship, you shared with them every privilege that you possess. You re-

[1] The remainder of this column and the whole of the next are either lost or so mutilated as to be unintelligible.

[2] When the next continuous passage is reached, the speaker has quitted the direct issue and is attacking the political conduct of his adversary.

membered the service which they had rendered to you, more than a hundred and fifty years ago, during the war with Persia, and you recognized the duty of helping in the hour of their misfortune those who had aided you in the hour of your peril. But this scoundrel, this deserter from Athens who had procured admission as a citizen of Troezen, when once his position was thus secured, cared nothing for either the state or the welfare of the citizens, but behaved with the utmost barbarity towards the city which had granted him its hospitality.[1] . . .

To prove the truth of these assertions the clerk shall read to you, first, the law which forbids resident aliens to migrate in time of war; secondly, the evidence of the Troezenians; and finally the ordinance which these same Troezenians passed in your honor, in return for which you gave them asylum here and conferred your citizenship upon them. Read.

[*The law, the evidence, and the ordinance are read.*]

Now take the deposition of his own relative. . . .

You know of what manner he conspired against me, and how he has been found a traitor against your state; how he despaired of your safety and abandoned the commonweal in the hour of danger; and how he has made homeless many of those to whom he migrated. Will you not then punish this scoundrel, now that you have him in your power? And for myself, gentlemen, I implore you not to refuse me your protection. Reflect that your decision in this case is a matter of life or death for me, while an adverse verdict will inflict no very serious loss upon him. . . . Remember, gentlemen, the oath that you have taken and the laws that have been read in your ears, and give sentence against him in accordance with the justice that you have sworn to observe.

[1] Half a column is hopelessly mutilated here.

ÆSCHINES

ÆSCHINES, who, among Athenian orators, stands second to Demosthenes alone, was born in 389 B.C., five years earlier than his great rival. As to the rank and character of his parents different statements are made by himself and by his opponents. That he must have received a good education is evident from the works which he has left behind him. Being gifted with a handsome person and sonorous voice, he first tried his fortune as an actor; but in this profession, which was by no means dishonorable at Athens, he appears for one cause or another not to have succeeded. Like other Athenian citizens he was called upon to perform military service for his country, and he acquitted himself with honor in several campaigns. The laurels which he earned as a speaker, however, soon threw into the shade those of the battlefield. Having secured the position of clerk to the popular assembly, he gradually acquired an intimate acquaintance with the laws, the politics, and the public business of his country. This knowledge he found of immense advantage when he came himself to take a part in the debates, and it is no wonder that, with his powerful voice and impressive delivery, his literary acquirements and copious vocabulary, he quickly attained an eminent place among the orators of the day.

The circumstances attending the peace which followed the so-called Social war first created hostility between Æschines and Demosthenes. An accusation levelled by the latter against the former brought them into an antagonism both political and personal which never ceased till Æschines finally quitted his native land. In 338, not many months after the battle of Chæronea, in which the united forces of Thebes and Athens had been disastrously beaten by Philip of Macedon, Ctesiphon, a member of the anti-Macedonian party at Athens, brought forward a proposal that the people should confer a crown upon Demosthenes for his patriotism and public virtue, and that the bestowal of the honor should be proclaimed in the theatre at the coming Dionysiac Festival, when a multitude of auditors from all parts of Greece were certain to be present. This proposal was adopted by the popular assembly, but the execution of it was suspended for some eight years because Æschines brought an indictment against Ctesiphon on three grounds, two of which were of a legal nature, while the third went to the merits of the question, being a denial of the public services and public virtue attributed to Demosthenes. At least one of the legal points was well taken, and, had Æschines confined himself to these, a verdict could scarcely have been denied to him. But he had seen fit to dispute the merits of Demosthenes, and it was the deliberate will and the highest interest of the people to sweep aside technicalities and show that it still honored the man who had not despaired of the commonwealth. Thus it came about that Ctesiphon was acquitted by an overwhelming vote.

As Æschines, on the trial of Ctesiphon, which did not take place till 330, failed to obtain even a fifth part of the votes, he was by law

obliged to quit Athens. Thenceforth he lived as an exile in Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, earning his livelihood by teaching rhetoric. At Rhodes he founded a school which acquired considerable celebrity. It was there that his scholars, hearing him recite his own oration against Ctesiphon, expressed astonishment at his having failed to get a verdict. "You will cease to wonder," said he, "when you have heard the speech of the opposing orator." On another occasion, when he read both of the speeches to a Rhodian assembly, that of Demosthenes, which he delivered with great energy, excited the admiration of all: "What would you have thought," said Æschines, "could you have heard the man himself?"

AGAINST CROWNING DEMOSTHENES

YOU see, Athenians, what preparations are on foot, what forces are arrayed, what appeals to the Assembly are being made by certain persons to prevent the proper and ordinary course of justice from having its effect in the city. For myself I come before you, first, with a firm belief in the immortal gods, next, with an abiding confidence in the laws and in you, convinced that intrigues will not more avail with you than these laws and the cause of justice.

I could indeed have fain desired that both in the Council of Five Hundred and in the Assembly the presiding officers had compelled conformity to established rules of debate, and that the laws had been enforced concerning the orderly deportment of public speakers which were laid down by Solon. It should thus have been permitted to the oldest citizens, as the laws prescribe, to ascend the platform decorously, and without tumult or annoyance, according to their experience, express their opinions upon what they regarded most advantageous to the city. Afterwards, each citizen in order of seniority should have in turn presented his independent views upon every question.

In this way it seems to me would the affairs of the city have been best conducted, and prosecutions have been reduced

within the smallest compass. Since, however, the old recognized rules of procedure have been swept away, and certain men recklessly introduce illegal propositions, and certain others put them to the vote,— men who have managed to secure the presidency, not by just and proper means, but taking possession of it by contrivance,— it is brought to pass that if any other senator shall succeed in reaching the first place in due course of law and shall then attempt to obtain the result of your votes properly, such an one is denounced and impeached by the men who regard our government as no longer a common inheritance but as their own peculiar property. And when in this way, by reducing private citizens to servitude and by securing absolute power to themselves, they have overthrown established legal judgments and have passed decrees according to the dictates of their passions, there shall be heard no longer that most beautiful and proper invitation of the herald, "Who desires to express his opinion, of citizens of fifty years of age and upwards, and afterwards, of all others in rotation?"

Thus neither the laws, nor the senators, nor the presidents, nor the presiding tribe itself a tenth part of the city, can control the indecent conduct of these orators.

Such being the case, and such the position in which the city is placed,— and you must be convinced that this is so,— one part at least of the constitution, if I know anything of the matter, still survives,— the right of prosecution for proposing unconstitutional measures. Should you destroy this right, or surrender it to those who will destroy it, I prophesy that you will have unconsciously given away to a few men almost our entire form of government. For you must surely know, Athenians, that but three forms of government exist, monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy: the two former are adminis-

tered according to the feelings and opinions of those who are at the head of affairs, but republics repose upon the authority of law. Let no one of you, therefore, forget, but on the contrary let him lay it carefully to heart, that when he enters this tribunal for the trial of such an issue, on that day he is called upon to cast his vote upon his own right of free speech. Therefore was it that our old lawgivers placed in the forefront of the juror's oath these words, "I will render a verdict according to law," knowing well that when the laws were jealously observed by the city free institutions were safe.

Wherefore it is that, bearing these things in mind, you should hold in abhorrence all who commit unconstitutional acts, and that you should look upon no infraction of the constitution as small or unimportant, but treat all as of the gravest nature. Nor should you suffer any man to deprive you of this most vital right,— neither the persuasions of the generals who for a long time past have been at work with certain of our orators to overthrow the constitution, nor the solicitations of strangers whom those whose administration has been illegal have brought up hither to screen them from justice; but as each one of you would blush to quit the ranks in which he was stationed on the day of battle, so you should now blush at the thought of abandoning the post in which you are placed by the laws which are to-day the guardians of our institutions.

You must further bear in mind that your fellow citizens have now entrusted to your keeping the city itself in thus confiding the constitution to your charge; not only those of them who are here present intent upon the course of this trial, but those also who are necessarily absent upon their private business. If, therefore, holding in due regard these your fellow citizens, and remembering the oaths you have sworn and the laws you are living under, you should convict Ctesiphon for

having introduced an unconstitutional bill false in terms and injurious to the city, overturn, Athenians, such unconstitutional enactments, confirm our free institutions, and punish the men who have been advising against the law and against the interests both of the State and of yourselves. If in this frame of mind you listen to the words which are about to be spoken, I well know that your verdict will be in accordance with justice and right, and that it will redound to the credit of yourselves and of the whole community.

I have thus far spoken about the general nature of this prosecution, and, I hope, with sufficient fairness. I now desire to speak briefly about the laws which have been passed in regard to persons who are accountable to the State, against which the decree of Ctesiphon offends.

In former times it happened that men who had exercised the highest employments and had been entrusted with the management of the public revenues, although guilty therein of the grossest corruption, would, by conniving with certain orators both in the Senate and the General Assembly, anticipate all examination into their accounts by means of votes of commendation and proclamations of thanks in their behalf. Not only were citizens who attempted to bring them to justice for the state of their accounts in this way much perplexed, but the jurors themselves who were to try the cause were reduced to a grave dilemma. And many of these officials, although clearly proved to have embezzled public moneys in the most flagrant way, were yet permitted to leave the judgment-seat unpunished. And not unreasonably. For the jurors were ashamed, it seems to me, that it should appear that the same man in the same city, and perchance in the very same year, who had been proclaimed in the Assemblies as worthy of being honored with a golden crown by the

people for his virtue and uprightness, should a short time afterwards be brought to trial, and go forth from our courts of justice convicted of fraud in his accounts. So that the jurors were compelled, as it were, to give their verdict not so much upon the crime which was proven, as in regard to the honor of the city itself. And hence it was that one of our lawgivers provided for this very emergency by propounding a law — and a most admirable one it was — by which the coronation of all persons liable to account was distinctly forbidden. Notwithstanding the passage of this law, evasions of it more efficacious than the law itself have been invented, in ignorance of which, unless they be explained to you, you would be entirely deceived. Thus decrees for the crowning of officials while they were still liable to account were introduced contrary to law by men not ill disposed by nature,— if any one can be well-disposed who thus acts illegally,— and by way of a salve to propriety they added to the propositions the words, "after they shall have rendered a correct account of their administration." The city, however, was injured in the same way by this evasion, since the accounting was equally forestalled by the panegyrics and votes of crowns; and the propounder of the decree, by thus qualifying it, admitted to his discredit that at the time of its proposal he was conscious of an intended infraction of the law. But this fellow Ctesiphon, men of Athens, at one bound clears both law and qualification; for by his decree he asks that Demosthenes, while actually in office, before he has furnished any explanations or delivered in any accounts, shall be crowned by the people. . . .

You have just heard, Athenians, that the law directs the proclamation of one who is crowned by the people to be made in the Pnyx at an Assembly of the people, and nowhere else.

Ctesiphon, however, not only transgresses the law by directing it to be done in the theatre, thus changing the place from that where the Athenians hold their Assembly, but he commands it to take place, not before the people alone, but in presence of the assembled Greeks, that they may see along with us what manner of man it is whom we thus honor. . . .

Since, then, it is directed that those honored with a crown by the Senate shall be proclaimed in the Senate Chamber, and those crowned by the people in the Assembly, and it is interdicted to those crowned by the tribes or demes to be so proclaimed in the theatre, that no one by mean solicitations for crowns and proclamations should thereby obtain a spurious honor, and it is moreover forbidden by the law that proclamation shall be made by any one unless by the Senate, the people, the tribes, and the demes; if all these be excepted, what remains but the case of crowns conferred by foreign states? That this is manifestly so, I shall convince you by the laws themselves. . . .

Besides it is enjoined by law that the crown of gold which shall be proclaimed in the theatre in behalf of any one shall be taken from him and consecrated to Athene. Who would dare, however, from this, to accuse the people of Athens of a sordid economy? Never was there a city, never an individual, so destitute of generosity, as in the same moment to proclaim, take away, and consecrate a crown of their own bestowal! This consecration is doubtless directed to be made because the crown has been conferred by strangers, that no man may estimate a foreign honor as of greater value than his country, and may not be tempted in consequence to fail in his devotion to her. The crown conferred by the people and proclaimed in the Assembly is never consecrated, but on the contrary is

permitted to be enjoyed, not only by its recipient, but by his descendants, that by preserving this memorial in their family they may never become ill-disposed to their country. And this is the reason why the lawmaker has prohibited the proclamation in the theatre of a crown conferred by strangers unless authorized by a decree of the people,— that the foreign city which may desire so to honor one of your citizens shall first through an embassy demand it of the people; and thus he who is crowned shall owe a higher debt of gratitude to you who have permitted the proclamation than to those who have presented him with the crown itself. . . .

To pass in review the whole life of Demosthenes would occupy too much time, and of what profit to us would it be to discuss it? It would be of no value to speak of the prosecution brought by him for his wound before the Council of Areopagus against his relative Demomeles the Pæanian, and to tell of the gashes he inflicted upon his own head. Nor need I speak of the expedition of Cephisodotus when he sailed with the fleet to the Hellespont, Demosthenes, as one of the trierarchs, having the admiral in his own ship, eating at the same table with him, sharing in his libations and sacrifices, and asserting a claim to this intimacy by reason of a family friendship, and yet not hesitating to denounce him and to become his accuser in a case of life and death. Or why should I refer to the affair with Midias and the blows which Demosthenes received from him in the theatre when he was exercising his duties as chorus-master, and how he compounded for thirty minæ the outrage against himself and the judgment which the people had pronounced against Midias in the temple of Dionysus? I ought, it seems to me, to pass over all such details; not in the desire of either deceiving you, or of betraying my cause, but in the apprehension that I might incur your

displeasure in the recital of facts confessedly true indeed, but stale and known to every one. And you, Ctesiphon, I ask, which is the most proper treatment for a man whose baseness is so familiar and clear to the hearers that his accuser is compelled to omit charges, not because they are untrue, but only too old and notorious? Is it right that such an one should be honored with a crown of gold, or rather be branded with infamy? You who have insolently dared to introduce falsehoods into a decree, shall you brave our halls of justice with impunity, or shall punishment be inflicted upon you by the city? . . .

Admirable indeed, Athenians, admirable is the provision by which our public records are preserved forever! Immutable, and changing not with the shifting opinions of the political renegades who readily pass from one side to the other, they hold up before the eyes of the people a certain means of information whenever it chooses to look into the antecedents of the faithless men who pretend to have become all at once upright citizens! And it will be well for me to exhibit just here an instance of this fellow's sycophancy. During the year of his senatorship he appears to have not once moved that the ambassadors from any other country should receive the honor of precedency. But now for the first and only time he accords to Philip's envoys the highest place of honor. He orders cushions to be brought for them to repose upon, has tapestry spread around them, and at the dawn of day conducts them to the theatre with such unseemly flattery that he is greeted with hisses from the people for his abject adulation towards them. When the envoys set out for Thebes on their return, they were conducted thither in three carriages drawn by mules hired expressly by Demosthenes, who thus held up his city to be the laughing-stock of Greece. . . .

It is here the proper place to speak of the gallant men whom this Demosthenes, in disregard of unpropitious auspices, sent forth to meet a certain doom. The wretch who mounts the tombs of these unhappy victims with the trembling feet which faltered in the ranks and fled from battle is he who dares to celebrate the courage of these heroes! O most dastardly of men, most incapable of wise and noble conduct, but most audaciously skilful in the use of words, darest thou now to undertake to look upon the countenance of these thy fellow citizens, and to assert before them that thou deservest to be crowned for bringing ruin upon thy country! And if he dares to say this, will you, my fellow citizens permit it, and shall the memory of those brave men perish with them when they have ceased to live? Go with me for a moment in your thoughts from this tribunal to the theatre, behold the herald advancing slowly, and listen to the proclamation which will follow this decree. Will the parents and the relatives of these unfortunate soldiers shed more abundant tears over the misfortunes and woes presented in the tragic spectacles there exhibited than over the State's ingratitude. What Greek trained in the principles of freedom will not on such a day be filled with grief when he reflects that formerly, before the spectacles began, when the government was administered under happier laws and by wiser counsellors, the herald would advance with the youthful orphans whose fathers had fallen in the field, and, pointing to them clad in complete armor, would proclaim in those beautiful and encouraging words, "Behold the children of the gallant men who lost their lives in our defence, whom their country has educated up to manhood, and now presents here armed in proof, and sends forth with happy auguries to manage their own affairs and to aspire to the highest honors of the State."

Such was the language of the herald in former days, but now how different! Were he now to present before you him who caused the orphanhood of all these children, in what terms think you would he make his proclamation? Should he indeed recite the form of the decree, truth would cry out and proclaim our shame in words of contradiction to the herald's voice. She would assert that the Athenian people crown for his virtue the man, if he be a man, who is infamous for vice,— for his courage, the coward who in the hour of danger fled from his post! I implore you, men of Athens, in the name of the sovereign Jove and all the gods, suffer not to be erected against yourselves a trophy in the temple of Dionysus; convict not our city of madness in the face of assembled Greece; nor remind the world of the irremediable woes of the unhappy Thebans whom you welcomed hither when they fled from the homes from which they had been driven by the venality of Demosthenes, through whose corruption they lost their temples, their children, and their tombs.

But since you were not present in person, figure to yourselves in imagination the condition of this unhappy people. Their city is carried by assault; amidst the horrors and confusion of walls overturned and houses in flames you shall see women and children driven from their homes into slavery, and aged persons of both sexes unlearning too late in life the sweet teachings of freedom; you shall find them in all their misery less indignant against the immediate instruments of their punishment than against the real authors of their wrongs: they implore you with sobs and tears never to honor with a crown the scourge of Greece, but to guard yourselves against the evil genius and the ill fortune which have always accompanied this man. No community, no private person has ever prospered who has submitted himself to the counsels of Demos-

thenes. And will you not be ashamed, Athenians, after enacting a law about a passage over the Strait to Salamis, that any ferryman who shall even unintentionally upset his boat shall never again be permitted to exercise his calling, that no one through carelessness may jeopard the lives of Greeks, yet to allow this man, who has so completely destroyed not only Athens but all Greece, to be placed again at the head of our government? . . .

It remains to speak a word or two about his courage. Had he denied his cowardice, or were you not all well acquainted with it, I had had here the occasion of consuming a little time upon this point. But as he has avowed it himself in our Assemblies, and you are thoroughly informed about it, I need only refer to the laws which have been framed upon this subject. Our ancient lawgiver Solon thought that the man who refused to obey the summons to the field, as well as he who quitted the ranks, were equally guilty with the coward: for the laws are enacted against cowardice. Should some of you perchance be surprised that a natural infirmity is treated as a crime, the reason is easily given. It is that each citizen fearing more the punishment inflicted by the laws than the enemy's face should contend all the better in his country's behalf. The law therefore excludes equally from the public lustrations the man who refuses to serve, the coward, and him who abandons his post. He can neither receive the honor of a crown nor be admitted to the sacred rites of the temple. And yet you, Ctesiphon, order us to crown a man incapable by law of receiving a crown; by your decree you call into the theatre, during the tragedies, him who is unworthy of appearing there; you attempt to introduce into the temple of Dionysus one who has forfeited, through his cowardice, all right to participate in the rites of religion.

But, lest I should withdraw your attention from the subject, keep this point steadily in view. When he professes his great affection for the people, look to his life, not his words; regard what he is, not what he says. And as we are talking of crowns and rewards, let me, while it is still in my mind, forewarn you, Athenians, that unless this prodigality of honors, this indiscriminate conferring of crowns is stopped, you will neither obtain the thanks of those who are honored, nor will the affairs of the city be advanced. The worthless man will not be made better, while the good will be altogether discouraged by it. . . .

I may here foretell the part that he will play when he sees that you are in earnest in your endeavor to hold him to his true course. Ctesiphon will introduce that arch-impostor, that plunderer of the public, who has cut the constitution into shreds; the man who can weep more easily than others laugh, and from whom perjury flows in ready words!

He can, I doubt not, change his tone, and pass from tears to gross abuse, insult the citizens who are listening outside, and cry out that the partisans of oligarchical power, detected by the hand of truth, are pressing round the prosecutor to support him, while the friends of the constitution are rallying round the accused. And when he dares to speak so, answer thus his seditious menaces: "What, Demosthenes, had the heroes who brought back our fugitive citizens from Phyle been like you, our democratic form of government had ceased to exist! Those illustrious men saved the State exhausted by great civil disorders in pronouncing that wise and admirable sentence 'oblivion of all offences.' But you, more careful of your rounded periods than of the city's safety, are willing to reopen all her wounds."

When this perjurer shall seek for credit by taking refuge

in his oaths, remind him that to the forsworn man who asks belief in them from those he has deceived so often, of two things one is needful, neither of which exists for Demosthenes; he must either get new gods, or an audience not the same. And to his tears and wordy lamentations, when he shall ask, "Whither shall I fly, Athenians, should you cast me out, I have not where to rest," reply, "Where shall the people seek refuge, Demosthenes; what allies, what resources, what reserve have you prepared for us? We all see what you have provided for yourself? When you have left the city, you shall not stop, as you would seem, to dwell in Piræus, but, quickly thence departing, you shall visit other lands, with all the appointments for your journey provided through your corruption from Persian gold or public plunder."

But why at all these tears, these cries, this voice of lamentation? Is it not Ctesiphon who is accused, and even for him may not the penalty be moderated by you? Thou pleadest not, Demosthenes, either for thy life, thy fortune, or thy honor! Why is he then so disquieted? About crowns of gold, and proclamations in the theatre against the laws: the man who, were the people so insensate or so forgetful of the present as to wish to crown him in this time of public distress, should himself step forth and say, "Men of Athens, while I accept the crown, I disapprove the proclamation of the honor at a time like this: it should not be in regard to things for which the State is now mourning and while it is in the depth of grief." Would not a man whose life was really upright so speak out; only a knave who assumes the garb of virtue would talk as you do?

Let none of you, by Hercules, be apprehensive lest this high-souled citizen, this distinguished warrior, from loss of this reward should on his return home take his life. The

man who rates so low your consideration as to make a thousand incisions on that impure and mortgaged head which Ctesiphon proposes against all law to honor with a crown, makes money of his wounds by bringing actions for the effects of his own premeditated blows. Yes, that crown of his so often battered, that perhaps even now it bears upon it the marks of Midias' anger, that crown which brings its owner in an income, serves both for revenue and head! . . .

And can it be that he whom you have thought worthy by your decree, of the honor of this crown, is so unknown to the public which has been so largely benefited by him that you must procure assistance to speak in his behalf? Ask of the jurors whether they know Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus, and learn from them why they have honored and erected statues to them? Will they not proclaim with one voice that they rendered honor to Chabrias for his naval victory near Naxos; to Iphicrates for having cut off a Spartan corps; to Timotheus for his expedition to Corcyra; to other heroes for their many glorious achievements? Ask them now why Demosthenes is to be rewarded. Is it for his venality, for his cowardice, for his base desertion of his post in the day of battle? In honoring such an one will you not dishonor yourselves and the gallant men who have laid down their lives for you in the field? — whose plaintive remonstrances against the crowning of this man you may almost seem to hear! Strange, passing strange, does it seem, Athenians, that you banish from the limits of the State the stocks and stones, the senseless implements which have unwittingly caused death by casualty; that the hand which has inflicted the wound of self-destruction is buried apart from the rest of the body; and that yet you can render honor to this Demosthenes, by whose counsels this last fatal expedition in

which your troops were slaughtered and destroyed was planned! The victims of this massacre are thus insulted in their graves, and the survivors outraged and discouraged when they behold the only reward of patriotic valor to be an unremembered death and a disregarded memory! And last and most important of all consequences, what answer shall you make to your children when they ask you after what examples they shall frame their lives? It is not, men of Athens,— you know it well,— it is not the palæstra, the seminary, or the study of the liberal arts alone, which form and educate our youth. Of vastly greater value are the lessons taught by these honors publicly conferred. Is a man proclaimed and crowned in the theatre for virtue, courage, and patriotism when his irregular and vicious life belies the honor, the young who witness this are perverted and corrupted! Is a profligate and a pander, such as Ctesiphon, sentenced and punished, an instructive lesson is given to the rising generation. Has a citizen voted in opposition to justice and propriety, and does he, on his return to his house, attempt to instruct his son; disobedience surely follows, and the lesson is justly looked upon as importunate and out of place. Pronounce your verdict then, not as simple jurors, but as guardians of the State, whose decision can be justified in the eyes of their absent fellow citizens who shall demand a strict account of it. Know ye not, Athenians, that the people is judged by the ministers whom it honors; will it not be disgraceful, then, that you shall be thought to resemble the baseness of Demosthenes, and not the virtues of your ancestors?

How, then, is this reproach to be avoided? It must be by distrusting the men who usurp the character of upright and patriotic citizens, which their entire conduct gainsays. Good

will and zeal for the public interest can be readily assumed in name; oftentimes those who have the smallest pretensions to them by their conduct seize upon and take refuge behind these honorable titles. When you find, then, an orator desirous of being crowned by strangers and of being proclaimed in presence of the Greeks, let him, as the law requires in other cases, prove the claim which he asserts by the evidence of a life free from reproach, and a wise and blameless course. If he be unable to do this, do not confirm to him the honors which he claims, and try at least to preserve the remnant of that public authority which is fast escaping from you. Even now, strange as it should seem, are not the Senate and the people passed over and neglected, and despatches and deputations received by private citizens, not from obscure individuals, but from the most important personages of Europe and Asia? Far from denying that for which under our laws the punishment is death, it is made the subject of open public boast; the correspondence is exhibited and read; and you are invited by some to look upon them as the guardians of the constitution, while others demand to be rewarded as the saviors of the country. The people, meanwhile, as if struck with the decrepitude of age and broken down by their misfortunes, preserve the republic only in name and abandon to others the reality of authority. You thus retire from the Assembly, not as from a public deliberation, but as from an entertainment given at common cost where each guest carries away with him a share of the remnants of the feast. That I speak forth the words of truth and soberness, hearken to what I am about to say.

It distresses me to recur so often to our public calamities, but when a private citizen undertook to sail only to Samos to get out of the way, he was condemned to death on the

same day by the Council of Areopagus as a traitor to his country. Another private citizen, unable to bear the fear which oppressed him, and sailing in consequence to Rhodes, was recently denounced for this and escaped punishment by an equal division of the votes. Had a single one been cast on the other side, he would have been either banished or put to death. Compare these instances with the present one. An orator, the cause of all our misfortunes, who abandons his post in time of war and flies from the city, proclaims himself worthy of crowns and proclamations. Will you not drive such a man from your midst as the common scourge of Greece; or will you not rather seize upon and punish him as a piratical braggart who steers his course through our government by dint of phrases?

Consider, moreover, the occasion on which you are called upon to record your verdict. In a few days the Pythian Games will be celebrated, and the assembled Greeks will all be reunited in your city. She has already suffered much disparagement from the policy of Demosthenes: should you now crown him by your votes you will seem to share the same opinions as the men who wish to break the common peace. By adopting the contrary course you will free the State from any such suspicion.

Let your deliberations, then, be in accord with the interests of the city: it is for her, and not a foreign community, you are now to decide. Do not throw away your honors, but confer them with discernment upon high-minded citizens and deserving men. Search with both eyes and ears as to who they are among you who are to-day standing forth in Demosthenes' behalf. Are they the companions of his youth who shared with him the manly toils of the chase or the robust exercises of the palæstra? No, by the Olympian Jove, he has

passed not his life in hunting the wild boar or in the preparation of his body for fatigue and hardship, but in the exercise of chicane at the cost of the substance of men of wealth!

Examine well his vainglorious boasting when he shall dare to say that by his embassy he withdrew the Byzantines from the cause of Philip; that by his eloquence he detached from him the Acarnanians, and so transported the Thebans as to confirm them upon your side. He believes indeed that you have reached such a point of credulity that you are ready to be persuaded by him of anything he may choose to utter, as if you had here in your midst the goddess Persuasion herself, and not an artful demagogue.

And when, at the close of his harangue, Demosthenes shall invite the partakers of his corruption to press round and defend him, let there be present in your imagination upon the platform from which I am now speaking the venerable forms of the ancient benefactors of the State, arrayed in all their virtue, to oppose these men's insolence. I see among them the wise Solon, that upright lawgiver who founded our popular government upon the soundest principles of legislation, gently advising you with his native moderation not to place your oaths and the law under the control of this man's discourse. And Aristides, by whose equity the imposts upon the Greeks were regulated, whose daughters, left in poverty through his incorruptible integrity, were endowed by the State, Aristides is seen complaining of this outrage upon justice, and demanding whether the descendants of the men who thought worthy of death and actually banished from their city and country Arthmius the Zelian, then living in their midst and enjoying the sacred rights of hospitality for merely bringing Persian gold into Greece, are now going to cover themselves with disgrace by honoring with a crown of

gold the man who has not simply brought hither the stranger's money, but is enjoying here the price of his treason. And Themistocles and the men who fell at Marathon and Platæa, think you that they are insensible to what is taking place! Do not their voices cry out from the very tombs in mournful protest against this perverse rendering of honor to one who has dared to proclaim his union with the barbarians against the Greeks!

As for me, O Earth and Sun, O Virtue, and thou, Intelligence, by whose light we are enabled to discern and to separate good from evil, as for me, I have directed my efforts against this wrong, I have lifted up my voice against this injustice! If I have spoken well and loftily against this crime, I have spoken as I could have wished; but if my utterances have been feeble and ill-directed, still they have been according to the measure of my strength. It is for you, men of Athens and jurors, to weigh carefully both what has been spoken and what has been left unsaid, and to render such a decision as shall not only be upright but for the advantage of the State.

[Translated by George W. Biddle. Used by permission of J. B. Lippincott & Co.]

DEMOSTHENES

DEMOSTHENES was born in 384 B.C. His father, who bore the same name, was an Athenian citizen of the deme of Pæania. His grandmother on the mother's side was a native of the region which we now call the Crimea, on which account his adversaries in after days used to taunt him with a barbarian ancestry. He was seven years old when his father, who was a manufacturer of swords and of upholstery, died, leaving a property which, invested, as it seems to have been, at 20 per cent, should have yielded about three thousand dollars a year. It was possible to live decently at Athens on a twentieth part of that income. Unfortunately for Demosthenes, his guardians abused their trust, and handed over to him, when he became of age, less than a seventh of his patrimony. His relatives also managed to throw upon him a public burden, the equipment of a ship of war, whereby his resources were still further straitened. To increase his income, he became a professional writer of speeches or pleas for the law courts, sometimes speaking himself. To some extent he seems to have continued his private law practice throughout his political career. His first direct contact with public affairs occurred in B.C. 355, and his connection with Athenian politics continued until his death in 322. The whole of his political life has sometimes been regarded as a duel between the ablest champion and the craftiest enemy of Greek freedom. For Demosthenes, however, the peril of subjugation to Macedon was only a calamitous accident. As he did not hesitate to tell his countrymen, they would have made a Philip for themselves had none been forthcoming. His constant aim was to regenerate the Athenians, to make their city the head of a free Greek confederation, and to see her stretch forth her arm on behalf of every Hellenic State against which a barbarian hand was raised. It was the duty of Athens, so he thought, to see that the central hearth of Hellas was kept pure. Consequently, he gave his energies to the task of domestic reform, as well as to the formation and maintenance of farsighted foreign relations. As the event proved, the time had gone by for Athens to save Greece, or even save herself, but it is the glory of Demosthenes that he postponed the day of doom. Between B.C. 351, the date of the First Philippic, and B.C. 341, when the Third Philippic was spoken, Demosthenes delivered eight political orations, seven of which are concerned with the aggressions of the Macedonian ruler. Up to the Battle of Charonea, in B.C. 338, the authority of the great orator steadily grew, until it became, first predominant and then paramount. After Philip's "dishonest victory," which, according to an ill-founded tradition,

"slew with report that old man eloquent," Isocrates, the enemies of Demosthenes supposed that they had him in their power, but the people remained faithful to him, and in B.C. 330, when the indictment of Ctesiphon by Æschines, which had been brought eight years before, and which really put in question the value of the public services of Demosthenes, the greatest of Athenian orators gained a tremendous victory. In B.C. 324, however, Demosthenes was accused of receiving a bribe from Harpalus, Alexander's receiver-general, who had fled to Athens. The orator was tried, condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and, in default thereof, imprisoned. He escaped to Ægina, and thence to Prœzen. He returned to Athens after Alexander's death, and took a principal part in organizing the so-called Lamian War for the recovery of the liberties of Greece. The contest went against the patriots, and Athens was spared on condition that Demosthenes and certain other orators should be condemned to death as traitors. The decree was passed in B.C. 322, and Demosthenes, who had fled to a temple of Poseidon in the island of Calauria, off the coast of Argolis, committed suicide by poison in order to avoid death by violence.

SPEECH OF DEMOSTHENES IN DEFENCE OF CTESIPHON, COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE "ORATION ON THE CROWN"

I BEGIN, men of Athens, by praying to every god and goddess, that the same goodwill, which I have ever cherished toward the commonwealth and all of you, may be requited to me on the present trial. I pray likewise—and this specially concerns yourselves, your religion, and your honor—that the gods may put it in your minds, not to take counsel of my opponent touching the manner in which I am to be heard—that would, indeed, be cruel!—but of the laws and of your oath; wherein (besides the other obligations) it is prescribed that you shall hear both sides alike. This means, not only that you must pass no precondemnation, not only that you must extend your goodwill equally to both, but also that you must allow the parties to adopt such order and course of defence as they severally choose and prefer.

Many advantages hath Æschines over me on this trial; and two especially, men of Athens. First, my risk in the contest is not the same. It is assuredly not the same for me to forfeit your regard, as for my adversary not to succeed in his indictment. To me—but I will say nothing untoward at the outset of my address. The prosecution, however, is play to him. My second disadvantage is, the natural disposition of mankind to take pleasure in hearing invective and accusation, and to be annoyed by those who praise themselves. To Æschines is assigned the part which gives pleasure; that which is (I may fairly say) offensive to all, is left for me. And if, to escape from this, I make no mention of what I have done, I shall appear to be without defence against his charges, without proof of my claims to honor; whereas, if I proceed to give an account of my conduct and measures, I shall be forced to speak frequently of myself. I will endeavor then to do so with all becoming modesty; what I am driven to by the necessity of the case will be fairly chargeable to my opponent, who has instituted such a prosecution.

I think, men of the jury, you will all agree that I, as well as Ctesiphon, am a party to this proceeding, and that it is a matter of no less concern to me. It is painful and grievous to be deprived of anything, especially by the act of one's enemy; but your goodwill and affection are the heaviest loss, precisely as they are the greatest prize to gain.

Such being the matters at stake in this cause, I conjure and implore you all alike, to hear my defence to the charge in that fair manner which the laws prescribe—laws, to which their author, Solon, a man friendly to you and to popular rights, thought that validity should be given, not only by the recording of them, but by the oath of you the jurors;

not that he distrusted you, as it appears to me, but, seeing that the charges and calumnies, wherein the prosecutor is powerful by being the first speaker, cannot be got over by the defendant, unless each of you jurors, observing his religious obligation, shall with like favor receive the arguments of the last speaker, and lend an equal and impartial ear to both, before he determines upon the whole case.

As I am, it appears, on this day to render an account both of my private life and my public measures, I would fain, as in the outset, call the gods to my aid; and in your presence I implore them, first, that the goodwill which I have ever cherished toward the commonwealth and all of you may be fully requited to me on the present trial; next, that they may direct you to such a decision upon this indictment as will conduce to your common honor, and to the good conscience of each individual.

Had Æschines confined his charge to the subject of the prosecution, I, too, would have proceeded at once to my justification of the decree. But since he has wasted no fewer words in the discussion of other matters, in most of them calumniating me, I deem it both necessary and just, men of Athens, to begin by shortly adverting to these points, that none of you may be induced by extraneous arguments to shut your ears against my defence to the indictment.

To all his scandalous abuse of my private life, observe my plain and honest answer. If you know me to be such as he alleged—for I have lived nowhere else but among you—let not my voice be heard, however transcendent my statesmanship! Rise up this instant and condemn me! But if, in your opinion and judgment, I am far better and of better descent than my adversary; if (to speak

without offence) I am not inferior, I or mine, to any respectable citizens; then give no credit to him for his other statements—it is plain they were all equally fictions—but to me let the same goodwill, which you have uniformly exhibited upon many former trials, be manifested now. With all your malice, Æschines, it was very simple to suppose that I should turn from the discussion of measures and policy to notice your scandal. I will do no such thing; I am not so crazed. Your lies and calumnies about my political life I will examine forthwith; for that loose ribaldry I shall have a word hereafter, if the jury desire to hear it.

The crimes whereof I am accused are many and grievous; for some of them the laws enact heavy—most severe penalties. The scheme of this present proceeding includes a combination of spiteful insolence, insult, railing, aspersion, and everything of the kind; while for the said charges and accusations, if they were true, the state has not the means of inflicting an adequate punishment, or anything like it. For it is not right to debar another of access to the people and privilege of speech; moreover, to do so by way of malice and insult—by Heaven! is neither honest, nor constitutional, nor just. If the crimes which he saw me committing against the state were as heinous as he so tragically gave out, he ought to have enforced the penalties of the law against them at the time; if he saw me guilty of an impeachable offence, by impeaching and so bringing me to trial before you; if moving illegal decrees, by indicting me for them. For surely, if he can prosecute Ctesiphon on my account, he would not have forborne to indict me myself, had he thought he could convict me. In short, whatever else he saw me doing to

your prejudice, whether mentioned or not mentioned in his catalogue of slander, there are laws for such things, and punishments, and trials, and judgments, with sharp and severe penalties; all of which he might have enforced against me: and had he done so—had he thus pursued the proper method with me, his charges would have been consistent with his conduct. But now he has declined the straightforward and just course, avoided all proofs of guilt at the time, and after this long interval gets up, to play his part withal, a heap of accusation, ribaldry, and scandal. Then he arraigns me, but prosecutes the defendant. His hatred of me he makes the prominent part of the whole contest; yet, without having ever met me upon that ground, he openly seeks to deprive a third party of his privileges. Now, men of Athens, besides all the other arguments that may be urged in Ctesiphon's behalf, this, methinks, may very fairly be alleged—that we should try our own quarrel by ourselves; not leave our private dispute, and look what third party we can damage. That surely were the height of injustice.

It may appear, from what has been said, that all his charges are alike unjust and unfounded in truth. Yet I wish to examine them separately, and especially his calumnies about the peace and the embassy, where he attributed to me the acts of himself and Philocrates. It is necessary also, and perhaps proper, men of Athens, to remind you how affairs stood at those times, that you may consider every single measure in reference to the occasion.

When the Phocian war had broken out—not through me, for I had not then commenced public life—you were in this position: you wished the Phocians to be saved, though you saw they were not acting right; and would

have been glad for the Thebans to suffer anything, with whom for a just reason you were angry; for they had not borne with moderation their good fortune at Leuctra. The whole of Peloponnesus was divided: they that hated the Lacedæmonians were not powerful enough to destroy them; and they that ruled before by Spartan influence were not masters of the states: among them, as among the rest of the Greeks, there was a sort of unsettled strife and confusion. Philip, seeing this—it was not difficult to see—lavished bribes upon the traitors in every state, embroiled and stirred them all up against each other; and so, by the errors and follies of the rest, he was strengthening himself, and growing up to the ruin of all. But when every one saw that the then overbearing, but now unfortunate, Thebans, harassed by so long a war, must of necessity have recourse to you; Philip, to prevent this, and obstruct the union of the states, offered to you peace, to them succor. What helped him then almost to surprise you in a voluntary snare? The cowardice, shall I call it? or ignorance —or both—of the other Greeks; who, while you were waging a long and incessant war—and that, too, for their common benefit, as the event has shown—assisted you neither with money nor men, nor anything else whatsoever. You, being justly and naturally offended with them, lent a willing ear to Philip.

The peace then granted was through such means brought about, not through me, as Æschines calumniously charged. The criminal and corrupt practices of these men during the treaty will be found, on fair examination, to be the cause of our present condition. The whole matter am I for truth's sake discussing and going through; for, let there appear to be ever so much crimi-

nality in these transactions, it is surely nothing to me. The first who spoke and mentioned the subject of peace was Aristodemus the actor; the seconder and mover, fellow-hireling for that purpose with the prosecutor, was Philocrates the Agnusian—your associate, Æschines, not mine, though you should burst with lying. Their supporters—from whatever motives—I pass that by for the present—were Eubulus and Cephisophon. I had nothing to do with it.

Notwithstanding these facts, which I have stated exactly according to the truth, he ventured to assert—to such a pitch of impudence had he come—that I, besides being author of the peace, had prevented the country making it in a general council with the Greeks. Why, you—I know not what name you deserve!—when you saw me robbing the state of an advantage and connection so important as you described just now, did you ever express indignation? did you come forward to publish and proclaim what you now charge me with? If, indeed, I had been bribed by Philip to prevent the conjunction of the Greeks, it was your business not to be silent, but to cry out, to protest, and inform the people. But you never did so—your voice was never heard to such a purpose, and no wonder; for at that time no embassy had been sent to any of the Greeks—they had all been tested long before; and not a word of truth upon the subject has Æschines spoken.

Besides, it is the country that he most traduces by his falsehoods. For, if you were at the same time calling on the Greeks to take arms and sending your own ambassadors to treat with Philip for peace, you were performing the part of an Eurybatus, not the act of a commonwealth, or of

honest men. But it is false, it is false. For what purpose could ye have sent for them at that period? For peace? They all had it. For war? You were yourselves deliberating about peace. It appears, therefore, I was not the adviser or the author of the original peace; and none of his other calumnies against me are shown to be true.

Observe again, after the state had concluded the peace, what line of conduct each of us adopted. Hence you will understand who it was that co-operated in everything with Philip; who that acted in your behalf, and sought the advantage of the commonwealth.

I moved in the council, that our ambassadors should sail instantly for whatever place they heard Philip was in, and receive his oath: they would not, however, notwithstanding my resolution. What was the effect of this, men of Athens? I will explain. It was Philip's interest that the interval before the oaths should be as long as possible; yours, that it should be as short. Why? Because you discontinued all your warlike preparations, not only from the day of swearing peace, but from the day that you conceived hopes of it; a thing which Philip was from the beginning studious to contrive, believing—rightly enough—that whatever of our possessions he might take before the oath of ratification he should hold securely; as none would break the peace on such account. I, men of Athens, foreseeing and weighing these consequences, moved the decree, to sail for whatever place Philip was in, and receive his oath without delay; so that your allies, the Thracians, might be in possession of the places which Æschines ridiculed just now (Serrium, Myrtium, and Ergisce), at the time of swearing the oaths; and that Philip might not become master of Thrace by securing the posts of vantage, nor provide him-

self with plenty of money and troops to facilitate his further designs. Yet this decree he neither mentions nor reads; but reproaches me, because, as Councillor, I thought proper to introduce the ambassadors. Why, what should I have done? Moved not to introduce men who were come for the purpose of conferring with you? or ordered the Manager not to assign them places at the theatre? They might have had places for their two obols, if the resolution had not been moved. Was it my duty to guard the petty interests of the state, and have sold our main interests like these men? Surely not. Take and read me this decree, which the prosecutor, knowing it well, passed over. Read.

THE DECREE

"In the Archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the thirteenth of Hecatombæon, in the presidency of the Pandionian tribe, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, moved:—Whereas Philip hath sent ambassadors for peace, and hath agreed upon articles of treaty, it is resolved by the Council and People of Athens, in order that the peace voted in the first assembly may be ratified, to choose forthwith from the whole body of Athenians five ambassadors; and that the persons elected do repair, without any delay, wheresoever they shall ascertain that Philip is, and as speedily as may be exchange oaths with him, according to the articles agreed on between him and the Athenian people, comprehending the allies of either party. For ambassadors were chosen, Eubulus of Anaphlystus, Æschines of Cothocidæ, Cephisophon of Rhamnus, Democrates of Phlya, Cleon of Cothocidæ."

Notwithstanding that I had passed this decree for the advantage of Athens, not that of Philip, our worthy ambassadors so little regarded it, as to sit down in Macedonia three whole months, until Philip returned from Thrace after

entirely subjugating the country; although they might in ten days, or rather in three or four, have reached the Hellespont and saved the fortresses, by receiving his oath before he reduced them: for he would never have touched them in our presence, or we should not have sworn him; and thus he would have lost the peace, and not have obtained both, the peace and the fortresses.

Such was the first trick of Philip, the first corrupt act of these accursed miscreants, in the embassy: for which I avow that I was and am and ever will be at war and variance with them. But mark another and still greater piece of villany immediately after. When Philip had sworn to the peace, having secured Thrace through these men disobeying my decree, he again bribes them not to leave Macedonia until he had got all ready for his expedition against the Phocians. His fear was, if they reported to you his design and preparation for marching, you might sally forth, sail round with your galleys to Thermopylæ as before, and block up the strait: his desire, that, the moment you received the intelligence from them, he should have passed Thermopylæ, and you be unable to do anything. And in such terror and anxiety was Philip, lest, notwithstanding he had gained these advantages, if you voted succor before the destruction of the Phocians, his enterprise should fail; he hires this despicable fellow, no longer in common with the other ambassadors, but by himself individually, to make that statement and report to you, by which everything was lost.

I conjure and beseech you, men of Athens, throughout the trial to remember this; that, if Æschines in his charge had not travelled out of the indictment, neither would I have spoken a word irrelevant; but since he has resorted

to every species both of accusation and calumny, it is necessary for me to reply briefly to each of his charges.

What then were the statements made by Æschines, through which everything was lost? That you should not be alarmed by Philip's having passed Thermopylæ—that all would be as you desired, if you kept quiet; and in two or three days you would hear, he was their friend to whom he had come as an enemy, and their enemy to whom he had come as a friend—it was not words that cemented attachments (such was his solemn phrase), but identity of interest; and it was the interest of all alike, Philip, the Phocians, and you, to be relieved from the harshness and insolence of the Thebans. His assertions were heard by some with pleasure, on account of the hatred which then subsisted against the Thebans. But what happened directly, almost immediately, afterward? The wretched Phocians were destroyed, their cities demolished; you that kept quiet, and trusted to Æschines, were shortly bringing in your effects out of the country, while Æschines received gold; and yet more—while you got nothing but your enmity with the Thebans and Thessalians, Philip won their gratitude for what he had done. To prove what I say, read me the decree of Callisthenes, and the letter of Philip, from both of which these particulars will be clear to you. Read.

THE DECREE

"In the Archonship of Mnesiphilus, an extraordinary assembly having been convened by the Generals, with the sanction of the Presidents and the Council, on the twenty-first of Mæmacterion, Callisthenes, son of Eteonicus of Phalerum, moved: No Athenian shall on any pretence sleep in the country, but all in the city and Piræus, except those

who are stationed in the garrisons; and they shall every one keep the posts assigned to them, without absenting themselves by night or day. Whosoever disobeys this decree, shall be amenable to the penalties of treason, unless he can show that some necessity prevented him: the judges of such necessity shall be the General of Infantry, and he of the Finance Department, and the Secretary of the Council. All effects shall be conveyed out of the country as speedily as may be; those that are within a hundred and twenty furlongs into the city and Piræus, those that are beyond a hundred and twenty furlongs to Eleusis, and Phyle, and Aphidna, and Rhamnus, and Sunium. On the motion of Callisthenes of Phalerum."

Was it with such expectations you concluded the peace? Were such the promises this hireling made you? Come, read the letter which Philip sent after this to Athens.

THE LETTER OF PHILIP

"Philip, king of Macedonia, to the Council and People of Athens, greeting. Ye know that we have passed Thermopylæ, and reduced Phocis to submission, and put garrisons in the towns that opened their gates; those that resisted we took by storm, and razed to the ground, enslaving their inhabitants. Hearing, however, that ye are preparing to assist them, I have written unto you, that ye may trouble yourselves no further in the business. For it seems to me, ye are acting altogether unreasonably; having concluded peace, and, nevertheless, taking the field, and that, too, when the Phocians are not comprehended in our treaty. Wherefore, if ye abide not by your engagements, ye will gain no advantage but that of being the aggressors."

You hear how plainly, in his letter to you, he declares and asserts to his own allies—"all this I have done against the will of the Athenians, and in their despite; therefore, if ye are wise, ye Thebans and Thessalians, ye will regard

them as enemies, and put confidence in me''; not writing in such words, but meaning so to be understood. And by these means he carried them away with him, insomuch that they had neither foresight nor sense of the consequences, but suffered him to get everything into his power: hence the misfortunes under which those wretched people at present are. The agent and auxiliary who helped to win for him such confidence—who brought false reports here and cajoled you—he it is who now bewails the sufferings of the Thebans, and dilates upon them so pathetically, he himself being the cause both of these calamities, and those in Phocis, and all the rest which the Greeks have sustained. Truly must you, Æschines, grieve at these events, and compassionate the Thebans, when you hold property in Bœotia and farm their lands; and I rejoice at a work, whose author immediately required me to be delivered into his hands.

But I have fallen upon a subject which it may be more convenient to discuss by and by. I will return then to my proofs, showing how the iniquities of these men have brought about the present state of things.

When you had been deceived by Philip through the agency of these men, who sold themselves in the embassies, and reported not a word of truth to you—when the unhappy Phocians had been deceived and their cities destroyed—what followed? The despicable Thessalians and stupid Thebans looked on Philip as a friend, a benefactor, a savior: he was everything with them—not a syllable would they hear from any one to the contrary. You, though regarding his acts with suspicion and anger, still observed the peace: for you could have done nothing alone. The rest of the Greeks, cheated and disappointed like yourselves, gladly observed the peace, though they also had in a man-

ner been attacked for a long time. For when Philip was marching about, subduing Illyrians and Triballians and some also of the Greeks, and gaining many considerable accessions of power, and certain citizens of the states (Æschines among them) took advantage of the peace to go there and be corrupted; all people then, against whom he was making such preparations, were attacked. If they perceived it not, that is another question, no concern of mine. I was forever warning and protesting, both at Athens and wheresoever I was sent. But the states were diseased; one class in their politics and measures being venal and corrupt, while the multitude of private men either had no foresight, or were caught with the bait of present ease and idleness; and all were under some such influence, only they imagined each that the mischief would not approach themselves, but that by the peril of others they might secure their own safety when they chose. The result, I fancy, has been, that the people, in return for their gross and unseasonable indolence, have lost their liberty; the statesmen, who imagined they were selling everything but themselves, discovered they had sold themselves first; for, instead of friends, as they were named during the period of bribery, they are now called parasites, and miscreants, and the like befitting names. Justly. For no man, O Athenians, spends money for the traitor's benefit, or, when he has got possession of his purchase, employs the traitor to advise him in future proceedings; else nothing could have been more fortunate than a traitor. But it is not so—it never could be—it is far otherwise! When the aspirant for power has gained his object, he is master also of those that sold it; and then—then, I say, knowing their baseness, he loathes, and mistrusts, and spurns them.

Consider only—for, though the time of the events is past, the time for understanding them is ever present to the wise: Lasthenes was called the friend of Philip for a while, until he betrayed Olynthus—Timolaus for a while, until he destroyed Thebes—Eudicus and Simus of Larissa for a while, until they brought Thessaly under Philip's power. Since then the world has become full of traitors, expelled, and insulted, and suffering every possible calamity. How fared Aristratus in Sicyon? how Perilaus in Megara? Are they not outcasts? Hence one may evidently see, it is the vigilant defender of his country, the strenuous opponent of such men, who secures to you traitors and hirelings, Æschines, the opportunity of getting bribes: through the number of those that oppose your wishes, you are in safety and in pay; for had it depended on yourselves, you would have perished long ago.

Much more could I say about those transactions, yet methinks too much has been said already. The fault is my adversary's, for having spirted over me the dregs, I may say, of his own wickedness and iniquities, of which I was obliged to clear myself to those who are younger than the events. You too have probably been disgusted who knew this man's venality before I spoke a word. He calls it friendship indeed; and said somewhere in his speech—"the man who reproaches me with the friendship of Alexander." I reproach you with friendship of Alexander! Whence gotten, or how merited? Neither Philip's friend nor Alexander's should I ever call you; I am not so mad; unless we are to call reapers and other hired laborers the friends of those that hire them. That however is not so—how could it be? It is nothing of the kind. Philip's hireling I called you once, and Alexander's

I call you now. So do all these men. If you disbelieve me, ask them; or rather I will do it for you. Athenians! is Æschines, think ye, the hireling, or the friend of Alexander? You hear what they say.

I now proceed to my defence upon the indictment itself, and to the account of my own measures, that Æschines may hear, though he knows already, on what I found my title both to these which have been decreed and to far greater rewards. Take and read me the indictment itself.

THE INDICTMENT

"In the Archonship of Chærondas, on the sixth of Elaphebolion, Æschines, son of Atrometus of Cothocidæ, preferred before the archon an indictment against Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes of Anaphlystus, for an illegal measure: for that he proposed a decree against law, to wit, that it was right to crown Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with a golden crown, and to proclaim in the theatre at the great Dionysian festival, at the exhibition of the new tragedies, that the people crown Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with a golden crown, on account of his virtue, and of the goodwill which he has constantly cherished toward all the Greeks as well as toward the people of Athens, and of his integrity, and because he has constantly by word and deed promoted the advantage of the people, and is zealous to do whatever good he can: all which clauses are false and illegal; the laws enacting, first, that no false allegations shall be entered in the public records; secondly, that an accountable officer shall not be crowned (but Demosthenes is a conservator of the walls, and has charge of the theoric fund); thirdly, that the crown shall not be proclaimed in the theatre at the Dionysian festival, on the new exhibition of tragedies, but if the council confer a crown, it shall be published in the council-hall, if the people, in the Pnyx at the assembly. Penalty, fifty talents. Witnesses to the summons, Cephisophon,

son of Cephisophon of Rhamnus, Cleon, son of Cleon of Cothocidæ."

The clauses of the decree which he prosecutes are these, men of Athens. Now from these very clauses I think I shall immediately make it clear to you, that my whole defence will be just; for I shall take the charges in the same order as my adversary, and discuss them all one by one, without a single intentional omission.

With respect to the statement, "that I have constantly by word and deed promoted the advantage of the people, and am zealous to do whatever good I can," and the praising me on such grounds, your judgment, I conceive, must depend on my public acts; from an examination of which it will be discovered whether what Ctesiphon has alleged concerning me is true and proper, or false. As to his proposing to give the crown without adding "when he has passed his accounts," and to proclaim the crown in the theatre, I imagine that this also relates to my political conduct, whether I am worthy of the crown and the public proclamation, or not. However, I deem it necessary to produce the laws which justified the defendant in proposing such clauses.

Thus honestly and simply, men of Athens, have I resolved to conduct my defence. I now proceed to my own actual measures. And let no one suppose that I wander from the indictment, if I touch upon Grecian questions and affairs: he who attacks that clause of the decree, "that by word and deed I have promoted your good"—he who has indicted this for being false—he, I say, has rendered the discussion of my whole policy pertinent and necessary to the charge. Moreover, there being many departments of political action, I chose that which belonged to Grecian

affairs: therefore I am justified in drawing my proofs from them.

The conquests which Philip had got and held before I commenced life as a statesman and orator, I shall pass over, as I think they concern not me. Those that he was baffled in from the day of my entering on such duties, I will call to your recollection, and render an account of them; premising one thing only—Philip started, men of Athens, with a great advantage. It happened that among the Greeks—not some, but all alike—there sprang up a crop of traitors and venal wretches, such as in the memory of man had never been before. These he got for his agents and supporters: the Greeks, already ill-disposed and unfriendly to each other, he brought into a still worse state, deceiving this people, making presents to that, corrupting others in every way; and he split them into many parties, when they had all one interest, to prevent his aggrandizement. While the Greeks were all in such a condition—in such ignorance of the gathering and growing mischief—you have to consider, men of Athens, what policy and measures it became the commonwealth to adopt, and of this to receive a reckoning from me; for the man who assumed that post in the administration was I.

Ought she, Æschines, to have cast off her spirit and dignity, and, in the style of Thessalians and Dolopians, helped to acquire for Philip the dominion of Greece, and extinguished the honors and rights of our ancestors? Or, if she did not this—which would indeed have been shameful—was it right that what she saw would happen if unprevented, and was for a long time, it seems, aware of, she should suffer to come to pass?

I would gladly ask the severest censurer of our acts,

with what party he would have wished the commonwealth to side—with those who contributed to the disgraces and disasters of the Greeks, the party, we may say, of the Thessalians and their followers—or those who permitted it all for the hope of selfish advantage, among whom we may reckon the Arcadians, Messenians, and Argives? But many of them, or rather all, have fared worse than ourselves. If Philip after his victory had immediately marched off and kept quiet, without molesting any either of his own allies or of the Greeks in general, still they that opposed not his enterprises would have merited some blame and reproach. But when he has stripped all alike of their dignity, their authority, their liberty—nay, even of their constitutions, where he was able—can it be doubted that you took the most glorious course in pursuance of my counsels?

But I return to the question—What should the commonwealth, Æschines, have done, when she saw Philip establishing an empire and dominion over Greece? Or what was your statesman to advise or move?—I, a statesman at Athens?—for this is most material—I who knew that from the earliest time, until the day of my own mounting the platform, our country had ever striven for precedency and honor and renown, and expended more blood and treasure for the sake of glory and the general weal than the rest of the Greeks had expended on their several interests?—who saw that Philip himself, with whom we were contending, had, in the strife for power and empire, had his eye cut out, his collar-bone fractured, his hand and leg mutilated, and was ready and willing to sacrifice any part of his body that fortune chose to take, provided he could live with the remainder in honor and glory? Hardly will any one

venture to say this—that it became a man bred at Pella, then an obscure and inconsiderable place, to possess such inborn magnanimity, as to aspire to the mastery of Greece and form the project in his mind, while you, who were Athenians, day after day in speeches and in dramas reminded of the virtue of your ancestors, should have been so naturally base, as of your own freewill and accord to surrender to Philip the liberty of Greece. No man will say this!

The only course then that remained was a just resistance to all his attacks upon you. Such course you took from the beginning, properly and becomingly; and I assisted by motions and counsels during the period of my political life—I acknowledge it. But what should I have done? I put this question to you, dismissing all else: Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, Halonnesus—I mention none of them: Serrium, Doriscus, the ravaging of Peparethus, and any similar wrongs which the country has suffered—I know not even of their occurrence. You indeed said, that by talking of these I had brought the people into a quarrel, although the resolutions respecting them were moved by Eubulus and Aristophon and Diopithes—not by me, you ready utterer of what suits your purpose! Neither will I speak of these now. But I ask—the man who was appropriating to himself Eubœa, and making it a fortress against Attica, and attempting Megara, and seizing Oreus, and razing Porthmus, and setting up Philistides as tyrant in Oreus, Clitarchus in Eretria, and subjugating the Hellespont, and besieging Byzantium, and destroying some of the Greek cities, restoring exiles to others—was he by all these proceedings committing injustice, breaking the truce, violating the peace, or not? Was it meet that any of the

Greeks should rise up to prevent these proceedings, or not? If not—if Greece was to present the spectacle (as it is called) of a Mysian prey, while Athenians had life and being, then I have exceeded my duty in speaking on the subject—the commonwealth has exceeded her duty, which followed my counsels—I admit that every measure has been a misdeed, a blunder of mine. But if some one ought to have arisen to prevent these things, who but the Athenian people should it have been? Such then was the policy which I espoused. I saw him reducing all men to subjection, and I opposed him: I continued warning and exhorting you not to make these sacrifices to Philip.

It was he that infringed the peace by taking our ships: it was not the state, Æschines. Produce the decrees themselves, and Philip's letter, and read them one after another. From an examination of them, it will be evident who is chargeable with each proceeding. Read.

THE DECREE

"In the Archonship of Neocles, in the month Boedromion, an extraordinary assembly having been convened by the generals, Eubulus, son of Mnesitheus of Cytherus, moved: Whereas the generals have reported in the assembly, that Leodamas the admiral, and the twenty vessels despatched with him to the Hellespont for the safe-conduct of the corn, have been carried to Macedonia by Philip's general Amyntas, and are detained in custody, let the presidents and the generals take care that the council be convened, and ambassadors to Philip be chosen, who shall go and treat with him for the release of the admiral, vessels, and troops: and if Amyntas has acted in ignorance, they shall say that the people make no complaint against him; if the admiral was found wrongfully exceeding his instructions, that the Athenians will make inquiry, and punish

him as his negligence deserves: if it be neither of these things, but a wilful trespass on the part of him who gave or him who received the commission, let them state this also, that the people, being apprised, may deliberate what course to take."

This decree Eubulus carried, not I. The next, Aristophon; then Hegesippus, then Aristophon again, then Philocrates, then Cephisophon, then the rest. I had no concern in the matter. Read the decree.

THE DECREE

"In the Archonship of Neocles, on the last day of Boedromion, at the desire of the council, the presidents and generals introduced their report of the proceedings of the assembly; to wit, that the people had resolved to appoint ambassadors to Philip for the recovery of the ships, and to furnish them with instructions and with the decrees of the assembly; and they appointed the following: Cephisophon, son of Cleon of Anaphlystus; Democritus, son of Demophon of Anagyrus; Polycritus, son of Apemantus of Cothocidæ. In the presidency of the Hippothoontian tribe, on the motion of Aristophon of Colyttus, committee-man."

Now then, as I produce these decrees, so do you, Æschines, point out what decree of my passing makes me chargeable with the war. You cannot find one: had you any, there is nothing you would sooner have produced. Why, even Philip makes no charge against me on account of the war, though he complains of others. Read Philip's own letter.

THE LETTER OF PHILIP

"Philip, king of Macedon, to the Council and People of Athens, greeting. Your ambassadors, Cephisophon, Democritus and Polycritus, came to me and conferred about the release of the galleys which Laomedon commanded. Upon

the whole, I think you must be very simple, if you imagine I do not see that those galleys were commissioned, under the pretence of conveying corn from the Hellespont to Lemnos, to relieve the Selymbrians, whom I am besieging, and who are not included in the friendly treaty subsisting between us. And these instructions were given, without leave of the Athenian people, by certain magistrates and others who are not now in office, but who are anyways desirous for the people to exchange our present amity for a renewal of war, and are far more anxious for such a consummation than to relieve the Selymbrians. They suppose it will be a source of income to themselves: however, I scarcely think it is for your advantage or mine. Wherefore I release you the vessels carried into my port; and for the future, if, instead of allowing your statesmen to adopt malignant measures, you will punish them, I too will endeavor to maintain the peace. Farewell."

Here is no mention by him of Demosthenes, or any charge against me. Why then, while he complains of the others, makes he no mention of my acts? Because he must have noticed his own aggressions, had he written aught concerning me; for on these I fixed myself—these I kept resisting. And first I proposed the embassy to Peloponnesus, when into Peloponnesus he began to steal; next that to Eubœa, when on Eubœa he was laying his hands; then the expedition (no longer an embassy) to Oreus, and that to Eretria, when he established rulers in those cities. Afterward I despatched all the armaments by which Chersonesus was preserved, and Byzantium, and all our allies; whence to you there accrued the noblest results—praises, eulogies, honors, crowns, thanks from those you succored; while the people attacked—those that trusted you then obtained deliverance, those that disregarded you have had often to remember your warnings,

and to be convinced that you were not only their friends, but wise men also and prophets: for all that you predicted has come to pass.

That Philistides would have given a great deal to keep Oreus—Clitarchus a great deal to keep Eretria—Philip himself a great deal to have these vantage-posts against you, and in other matters to avoid exposure, and any inquiry into his wrongful acts in general—no man is ignorant, and least of all you. For the ambassadors who came here then from Clitarchus and Philistides lodged with you, Æschines, and you were their host. The commonwealth regarded them as enemies, whose offers were neither just nor advantageous, and expelled them; but they was your friends. None of their designs then were accomplished; you slanderer—who say of me, that I am silent when I have got something, and bawl when I have spent it! That is not your custom. You bawl when you have something, and will never stop, unless the jury stop you by disfranchisement to-day.

When you crowned me then for those services, and Aristonicus drew up the same words that Ctesiphon here has now drawn up, and the crown was proclaimed in the theatre—for this now is the second proclamation in my favor—Æschines, being present, neither opposed it, nor indicted the mover. Take this decree now and read it.

THE DECREE

"In the Archonship of Chærondas, son of Hegemon, on the twenty-fifth of Gamelion, in the presidency of the Leontian tribe, Aristonicus of Phrearrii moved: Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, hath rendered many important services to the people of Athens, and to divers of her allies heretofore, and hath also on the present occa

sion aided them by his decrees, and liberated certain of the cities in Eubœa, and perseveres in his attachment to the people of Athens, and doth by word and deed whatever good he can for the Athenians themselves and the rest of the Greeks: It is resolved by the Council and People of Athens, to honor Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with public praise and a golden crown, and to proclaim the crown in the theatre at the Dionysian festival at the new tragedies, and the proclamation of the crown shall be given in charge to the presiding tribe and the prize-master. On the motion of Aristonicus of Phrearrii."

Is there one of you that knows of any disgrace falling on the state by reason of this decree, or any scorn or ridicule—consequences which this man now predicts, if I am crowned? It is when acts are recent and notorious that, if good, they obtain reward, if the contrary, punishment; and it appears that I then obtained reward, not blame or punishment. So, up to the period of those transactions, I am acknowledged on all occasions to have promoted the interests of the state—because my speeches and motions prevailed in your councils—because my measures were executed, and procured crowns for the commonwealth and for me and all of you—because you have offered sacrifices and thanksgivings to the gods for their success.

When Philip therefore was driven out of Eubœa, with arms by you, with counsels and decrees—though some persons there should burst!—by me, he sought some new position of attack on Athens. Seeing that we use more foreign corn than any people, and wishing to command the passage of the corn-trade, he advanced to Thrace; the Byzantines being his allies, he first required them to join in the war against you, and when they refused, saying (truly enough) that they had not made alliance on such

terms, he threw up intrenchments before the city, planted batteries, and laid siege to it. What course hereupon it became you to take, I will not ask again; it is manifest to all. But who was it that succored the Byzantines, and rescued them? who prevented the alienation of the Hellespont at that crisis? You, men of Athens. When I say you, I mean the commonwealth. But who advised, framed, executed the measures of state, devoted himself wholly and unreservedly to the public business?—I!—What benefits thence accrued to all, you need no further to be told; you have learned by experience. For the war which then sprang up, besides that it brought honor and renown, kept you in a cheaper and more plentiful supply of all the necessaries of life than does the present peace, which these worthies maintain to their country's prejudice in the hope of something to come. Perish such hope! Never may they share the blessings for which you men of honest wishes pray to the gods, nor communicate their own principles to you!

Read them now the crowns of the Byzantines, and those of the Perinthians, which they conferred upon the country as a reward.

THE BYZANTINE DECREE

"In the Presbytership of Bosporichus, Damagetus moved in the assembly, having obtained permission of the Council: Whereas the people of Athens have ever in former times been friendly to the Byzantines and their allies, and to their kinsmen the Perinthians, and have rendered them many signal services, and also on the present occasion, when Philip of Macedon attempted by invasion and siege to exterminate the Byzantines and Perinthians, and burned and ravaged their country, they succored us with a hundred and twenty ships and provisions and weap-

ons and soldiers, and rescued us from grievous perils, and preserved our hereditary constitution, our laws, and our sepulchres: it is resolved by the people of Byzantium and Perinthus to grant unto the Athenians the right of intermarriage, citizenship, purchase of land and houses, the first seat at the games, first admission to the Council and People after the sacrifices, and exemption from all public services to such as wish to reside in the city: and that three statues of sixteen cubits be erected in the harbor, representing the People of Athens crowned by the People of Byzantium and Perinthus: and deputations sent to the general assemblies of Greece, the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympian, and Pythian, to proclaim the crowns wherewith the people of Athens hath been honored by us, that all the Greeks may know the virtue of the Athenians, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians."

Now read the crowns given by the people of Chersonesus.

THE DECREE OF THE CHERSONESITES

"The Chersonesites, inhabitants of Sestus, Eleus, Madytus, and Alopeconnesus, crown the Council and People of Athens with a golden crown of the value of sixty talents, and build an altar to Gratitude and the Athenian People, because that People hath helped the Chersonesites to obtain the greatest of blessings, by rescuing them from the power of Philip, and restoring their country, their laws, their liberty, their sanctuaries: and in all future time they will not fail to be grateful, and do what service they can. Decreed in general Council."

Thus the saving of Chersonesus and Byzantium, the preventing Philip's conquest of the Hellespont, and the honors therefore bestowed on this country, were the effects of my policy and administration; and more than this—they proved to all mankind the generosity of Athens and the baseness of Philip. He, the ally and friend of the Byzantines, was be-

fore all eyes besieging them—what could be more shameful or outrageous?—You, who might justly on many grounds have reproached them for wrongs done you in former times, instead of bearing malice and abandoning the oppressed, appeared as their deliverers; conduct which procured you glory, goodwill, honor from all men. That you have crowned many of your statesmen, every one knows; but through what other person (I mean what minister or orator), besides myself, the commonwealth has been crowned, no one can say.

To prove now the malignity of those calumnies, which he urged against the Eubœans and Byzantines, reminding you of any unkindness which they had done you—prove it I shall, not only by their falsehood, which I apprehend you know already, but (were they ever so true) by showing the advantages of my policy—I wish to recount one or two of the noble acts of your own state, and to do it briefly; for individuals, as well as communities, should ever strive to model their future conduct by the noblest of their past.

Well then, men of Athens—when the Lacedæmonians had the empire of land and sea, and held the country round Attica by governors and garrisons, Eubœa, Tanagra, all Bœotia, Megara, Ægina, Cleonæ, the other islands; when our state possessed neither ships nor walls; you marched out to Haliartus, and again not many days after to Corinth; albeit the Athenians of that time had many causes of resentment against both Corinthians and Thebans for their acts in the Decelean war: but they showed no resentment, none. And yet neither of these steps took they, Æschines, for benefactors, nor were they blind to the danger; but they would not for such reasons abandon people who sought their protection; for the sake of renown and glory they

willingly exposed themselves to peril; just and noble was their resolve! For to all mankind the end of life is death, though one keep one's self shut up in a closet; but it becomes brave men to strive always for honor, with good hope before them, and to endure courageously whatever the Deity ordains.

Thus did your ancestors, thus the elder among yourselves. For, though the Lacedæmonians were neither friends nor benefactors, but had done many grievous injuries to our state, yet when the Thebans, victorious at Leuctra, sought their destruction, you prevented it, not fearing the power and reputation then possessed by the Thebans, nor reckoning up the merits of those whom you were about to fight for. And so you demonstrated to all the Greeks, that, however any people may offend you, you reserve your anger against them for other occasions; but should their existence or liberty be imperilled, you will not resent your wrongs or bring them into account.

And not in these instances only hath such been your temper. Again, when the Thebans were taking possession of Eubœa, you looked not quietly on—you remembered not the wrongs done you by Themison and Theodorus in the affair of Oropus, but assisted even them. It was the time when the volunteer captains first offered themselves to the state, of whom I was one;—but of this presently. However, it was glorious that you saved the island, but far more glorious that, when you had got their persons and their cities in your power, you fairly restored them to people who had ill-used you, and made no reckoning of your wrongs in an affair where you were trusted.

Hundreds of cases which I could mention I pass over—sea-fights, land-marches, campaigns, both in ancient times

and in your own, all of which the commonwealth has undertaken for the freedom and safety of the Greeks in general. Then, having observed the commonwealth engaging in contests of such number and importance for the interests of others, what was I to urge, what course to recommend her, when the question in a manner concerned herself?—To revive grudges, I suppose, against people who wanted help, and to seek pretences for abandoning everything. And who might not justly have killed me, had I attempted even by words to tarnish any of the honors of Athens? For the thing itself, I am certain, you would never have done—had you wished, what was to hinder you?—any lack of opportunity?—had you not these men to advise it?

I must return to the next in date of my political acts; and here again consider what was most beneficial for the state. I saw, men of Athens, that your navy was decaying, and that, while the rich were getting off with small payments, citizens of moderate or small fortunes were losing their substance, and the state, by reason thereof, missing her opportunities of action. I therefore proposed a law, by which I compelled the one class (the rich) to perform their duty, and stopped the oppression of the poor; and—what was most useful to the country—I caused her preparations to be made in time. And being indicted for it, I appeared on the charge before you, and was acquitted; and the prosecutor did not get his portion of the votes. But what sums, think ye, the chief men of the Boards, or those in the second and third degrees, offered me, first, not to propose that law, secondly, when I had recorded it, to drop it on the abatement-oath? Such sums, men of Athens, as I should be afraid to tell you. And no wonder they did

so; for under the former laws they might divide the charge between sixteen, spending little or nothing themselves, and grinding down the needy citizens; whereas under my law every one had to pay a sum proportioned to his means, and there was a captain for two ships, where before there was a partner with fifteen others for one ship; for they were calling themselves not captains any longer, but partners. They would have given anything then to get these regulations annulled, and not be obliged to perform their duties. Read me, first, the decree for which I appeared to the indictment, then the service-rolls, that of the former law, and that under mine. Read.

THE DECREE

"In the Archonship of Polycles, on the sixteenth of Boedromion, in the presidency of the Hippothoontian tribe, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, introduced a law for the naval service, instead of the former one under which there were the associations of joint-captains; and it was passed by the council and people. And Patrocles of Phlyus preferred an indictment against Demosthenes for an illegal measure, and, not having obtained his share of the votes, paid the penalty of five hundred drachms."

Now produce that fine roll.

THE ROLL

"Let sixteen captains be called out for every galley, as they are associated in the companies, from the age of twenty-five to forty, defraying the charge equally."

Now for the roll under my law.

THE ROLL

"Let captains be chosen according to their property by valuation, taking ten talents to a galley: if the property

be valued at a higher sum, let the charge be proportionate, as far as three ships and a tender; and let it be in the same proportion for those whose property is less than ten talents, joining them in a partnership to make up ten talents."

Think ye I but slightly helped the poor of Athens, or that the rich would have spent but a trifling sum to escape the doing what was right? I glory, however, not only in having refused this compromise, and having been acquitted on the indictment, but because my law was beneficial, and I have proved it so by trial. For during the whole war, while the armaments were shipped off according to my regulations, no captain ever appealed to you against oppression, or took sanctuary at Munychia, or was imprisoned by the clearing-officers; no galley was lost to the state by capture abroad, or left behind from unfitness to go to sea. Under the former laws all these things happened—because the burden was put upon the poor, and therefore difficulties frequently arose. I transferred the charge from the poor to the wealthy, and then every duty was done. For this itself, too, I deserve praise, that I adopted all such measures as brought glory and honor and power to the state: there is no envy, spite, or malice in any measure of mine, nothing sordid or unworthy of Athens. The same character is apparent in my home and in my foreign policy. At home, I never preferred the favor of the wealthy to the rights of the many: abroad, I valued not the presents or the friendship of Philip above the general interests of Greece.

I conceive it remains for me to speak of the proclamation and the accounts: for, that I acted for the best—that I have throughout been your friend and zealous in your service—is proved abundantly, methinks, by what I have

said already. The most important part of my policy and administration I pass by, considering that I have in regular course to reply to the charge of illegality; and besides—though I am silent as to the rest of my political acts—the knowledge you all have will serve me equally well.

As to the arguments which he jumbled together about the counter-written laws, I hardly suppose you comprehend them—I myself could not understand the greater part. However I shall argue a just case in a straightforward way. So far from saying that I am not accountable, as the prosecutor just now falsely asserted, I acknowledge that I am all my life accountable for what as your statesman I have undertaken or advised; but for what I have voluntarily given to the people out of my own private fortune, I deny that I am any day accountable—do you hear, Æschines?—nor is any other man, let him even be one of the nine archons. For what law is so full of injustice and inhumanity as to enact, that one who has given of his private means, and done an act of generosity and munificence, instead of having thanks, shall be brought before malignants, appointed to be the auditors of his liberality? None. If he says there is, let him produce it, and I will be content and hold my tongue. But there is none, men of Athens. The prosecutor in his malice, because I gave some of my own money when I superintended the theatre fund, says—"the Council praised him before he had rendered his account." Not for any matters of which I had an account to render, but for what I spent of my own, you malignant!

"Oh, but you were a Conservator of Walls!" says he. Yes; and for that reason was I justly praised, because I gave the sums expended and did not charge them. A

charge requires auditing and examiners; a donation merits thanks and praise: therefore the defendant made this motion in my favor.

That this is a settled principle in your hearts as well as in the laws, I can show by many proofs easily. First, Nausicles has often been crowned by you for what he expended out of his own funds while he was general. Secondly, Diotimus was crowned for his present of shields; and Charidemus too. Again, Neoptolemus here, superintendent of divers works, has been honored for his donations. It would indeed be cruel, if a man holding an office should either, by reason of his office, be precluded from giving his own money to the state, or have, instead of receiving thanks, to render an account of what he gave. To prove the truth of my statements, take and read me the original decrees made in favor of these men.

A DECREE

"Archon, Demonicus of Phlyus. On the twenty-sixth of Boedromion, with the sanction of the council and people, Callias of Phrearrii moved: That the council and people resolve to crown Nausicles, general of foot, for that, there being two thousand Athenian troops of the line in Imbrus, for the defence of the Athenian residents in that island, and Philo of the finance department being by reason of storms unable to sail and pay the troops, he advanced money of his own, and did not ask the people for it again; and that the crown be proclaimed at the Dionysian festival, at the new tragedies."

ANOTHER DECREE

"Callias of Phrearrii moved, the presidents declaring it to be with the sanction of the council: Whereas Charidemus, general of foot, having been sent to Salamis, he and Diotimus, general of horse, after certain of the troops had

in the skirmish by the river been disarmed by the enemy, did at their own expense arm the young men with eight hundred shields: It hath been resolved by the council and people to crown Charidemus and Diotimus with a golden crown, and to proclaim it at the great Panathenaic festival, during the gymnastic contest, and at the Dionysian festival, at the exhibition of the new tragedies: the proclamation to be given in charge to the judges, the presidents, and the prize-masters."

Each of these men, Æschines, was accountable for the office which he held, but not accountable for the matters in respect of which he was crowned. No more then am I; for surely I have the same rights, under the same circumstances, as other men. Have I given money? I am praised for that, not being accountable for what I gave. Did I hold office? Yes; and I have rendered an account of my official acts, not of my bounties. Oh, but I was guilty of malpractices in office! And you, present when the auditors brought me up, accused me not?

To show you that he himself bears testimony to my having been crowned for what I had no account to render of, take and read the whole decree drawn up in my favor. By the portions of the bill which he never indicted it will appear that his prosecution is vexatious. Read.

THE DECREE

"In the Archonship of Euthycles, on the twenty-second of Pyanepsion, in the presidency of the Œneian tribe, Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes of Anaphlystus, moved: Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, having been superintendent of the repair of the walls, and having expended on the works three additional talents out of his own money, hath given that sum to the people; and whereas, having been appointed treasurer of the theoric fund, he hath

given to the theoric officers of the tribes a hundred minas toward the sacrifices, the council and people of Athens have resolved to honor Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with public praise, for the goodness and generosity which he has shown throughout on every occasion toward the people of Athens, and to crown him with a golden crown, and to proclaim the crown in the theatre, at the Dionysian festival, at the performance of the new tragedies: the proclamation to be given in charge to the prize-master."

These were my donations; none of which have you indicted: the rewards which the council says I deserve for them are what you arraign. To receive the gifts then you confess to be legal: the requital of them you indict for illegality. In the name of Heaven! what sort of person can a monster of wickedness and malignity be, if not such a person as this?

Concerning the proclamation in the theatre, I pass over the fact, that thousands of thousands have been proclaimed, and I myself have been crowned often before. But by the gods! are you so perverse and stupid, Æschines, as not to be able to reflect, that the party crowned has the same glory from the crown wherever it be published, and that the proclamation is made in the theatre for the benefit of those who confer the crown? For the hearers are all encouraged to render service to the state, and praise the parties who show their gratitude more than the party crowned. Therefore has our commonwealth enacted this law. Take and read me the law itself.

THE LAW

"Whensoever any of the townships bestow crowns, proclamations thereof shall be made by them in their several townships, unless where any are crowned by the people of

Athens or the council; and it shall be lawful for them to be proclaimed in the theatre at the Dionysian festival."

Do you hear, Æschines, the law distinctly saying—"unless where any are voted by the people or the council; such may be proclaimed"? Why then, wretched man, do you play the pettifogger? Why manufacture arguments? Why don't you take hellebore for your malady? Are you not ashamed to bring on a cause for spite, and not for any offence?—to alter some laws, and to garble others, the whole of which should in justice be read to persons sworn to decide according to the laws? And you that act thus describe the qualities which belong to a friend of the people, as if you had ordered a statue according to contract, and received it without having what the contract required; or as if friends of the people were known by words, and not by acts and measures. And you bawl out, regardless of decency, a sort of cart-language, applicable to yourself and your race, not to me.

Again, men of Athens—I conceive abuse to differ from accusation in this, that accusation has to do with offences for which the laws provide penalties, abuse with the scandal which enemies speak against each other according to their humor. And I believe our ancestors built these courts, not that we should assemble you here and bring forth the secrets of private life for mutual reproach, but to give us the means of convicting persons guilty of crimes against the state. Æschines knew this as well as I, and yet he chose to rail rather than to accuse.

Even in this way he must take as much as he gives; but before I enter upon such matters, let me ask him one question—Should one call you the state's enemy, or mine, Æschines? Mine, of course. Yet, where you might, for

any offence which I committed, have obtained satisfaction for the people according to the laws, you neglected it—at the audit, on the indictments and other trials; but where I in my own person am safe on every account, by the laws, by time, by prescription, by many previous judgments on every point, by my never having been convicted of a public offence—and where the country must share, more or less, in the repute of measures which were her own—here it is you have encountered me. See if you are not the people's enemy, while you pretend to be mine!

Since therefore the righteous and true verdict is made clear to all; but I must, it seems—though not naturally fond of railing, yet on account of the calumnies uttered by my opponent—in reply to so many falsehoods, just mention some leading particulars concerning him, and show who he is, and from whom descended, that so readily begins using hard words—and what language he carps at, after uttering such as any decent man would have shuddered to pronounce —Why, if my accuser had been Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, or Minos, instead of a prater, a hack of the market, a pestilent scribbler, I don't think he would have spoken such things, or found such offensive terms, shouting, as in a tragedy, "O Earth! O Sun! O Virtue!" and the like; and again appealing to Intelligence and Education, by which the honorable is distinguished from the base:—all this you undoubtedly heard from his lips. Accursed one! What have you or yours to do with virtue? How should you discern what is honorable or otherwise? How were you ever qualified? What right have you to talk about education? Those who really possess it would never say as much of themselves, but rather blush if another did: those who are destitute like you, but make pretensions to it from

stupidity, annoy the hearers by their talk, without getting the reputation which they desire.

I am at no loss for materials concerning you and your family, but am in doubt what to mention first—whether how your father Tromes, being servant to Elpias, who kept a reading-school in the temple of Theseus, wore a weight of fetters and a collar; or how your mother, by her morning spousals in the cottage by Hero Calamites, reared up you, the beautiful statue, the eminent third-rate actor!—But all know these things without my telling—Or how the galley-piper Phormio, the slave of Dion of Phrearrii, removed her from that honorable employment. But, by Jupiter and the gods! I fear, in saying what is proper about you, I may be thought to have chosen topics unbecoming to myself. All this therefore I shall pass by, and commence with the acts of his own life; for indeed he came not of common parents, but of such as are execrated by the people. Very lately —lately do I say?—it is but yesterday that he has become both an Athenian and an orator—adding two syllables, he converted his father from Tromes to Atrometus, and dignified his mother by the name of Glaucothea, who (as every one knows) was called Empusa; having got that title (it is plain) from her doing and submitting to anything—how else could she have got it? However, you are so ungrateful and wicked by nature, that after being raised through the people from servitude to freedom, from beggary to affluence, instead of returning their kindness, you work against them as a hireling politician.

Of the speeches, which it may possibly be contended he has made for the good of the country, I will say nothing: of the acts which he was clearly proved to have done for the enemy, I will remind you.

What man present but knows of the outcast Antiphon, who came into the city under promise to Philip that he would burn your arsenal? I found him concealed in Piræus, and brought him before the assembly; when this mischief-maker, shouting and clamoring that it was monstrous in a free state that I should ill-treat unfortunate citizens, and enter houses without warrant, procured his release. And had not the Council of Areopagus, discovering the fact, and perceiving your ill-timed error, made search after the man, seized and brought him before you, a fellow like that would have been rescued, would have slipped through the hands of justice, and been sent out of the way by this declaimer. As it was, you put him to torture and to death, as you ought this man also. The Council of Areopagus were informed what Æschines had done, and therefore, though you had elected him for your advocate on the question of the Delian temple, in the same ignorance by which you have sacrificed many of the public interests, as you referred the matter to the council, and gave them full powers, they immediately removed him for his treason, and appointed Hyperides to plead; for which purpose they took their ballots from the altar, and not a single ballot was given for this wretch. To prove the truth of my statements, call me the witnesses.

WITNESSES

"We, Callias of Sunium, Zenon of Phlyus, Cleon of Phalerum, Demonicus of Marathon, testify for Demosthenes in the name of all, that, the people having formerly elected Æschines for their advocate before the Amphictyons on the question of the Delian temple, we in council determined that Hyperides was more worthy to plead on behalf of the state, and Hyperides was commissioned."

Thus, by removing this man when he was about to plead, and appointing another, the council pronounced him a traitor and an enemy.

Such is one of this boy's[1] political acts, similar—is it not?—to what he charges me with. Now let me remind you of another. When Philip sent Python of Byzantium, together with an embassy from all his own allies, with the intention of putting our commonwealth to shame, and proving her in the wrong, then—when Python swaggered and poured a flood of abuse upon you—I neither yielded nor gave way; I rose and answered him, and betrayed not the rights of the commonwealth. So plainly did I convict Philip of injustice, that his very allies rose up and acknowledged it; while Æschines fought his battle, and bore witness, aye, false witness, against his own country.

Nor was this enough. Again, some time afterward, he was found meeting Anaxinus the spy at Thraso's house. A man, I say, who had a private meeting and conference with an emissary of the foe must himself have been a spy by nature and an enemy to his country. To prove these statements, call me the witnesses.

WITNESSES

"Teledemus son of Cleon, Hyperides son of Callæschrus, Nicomachus son of Diophantus, testify for Demosthenes, as they swore before the generals, that Æschines son of Atrometus of Cothocidæ did, to their knowledge, meet by night in Thraso's house, and confer with Anaxinus, who was adjudged to be a spy of Philip. These depositions were returned before Nicias, on the third of Hecatombæon."

A vast deal besides that I could say about him I omit. For thus (methinks) it is. I could produce many more

[1] It means "a fine fellow," as we say ironically.

such cases where Æschines was discovered at that period assisting the enemy and harassing me. But these things are not treasured up by you for careful remembrance or proper resentment. You have, through evil custom, given large license to any one that chooses to supplant and calumniate your honest counsellors, exchanging the interest of the state for the pleasure and gratification of hearing abuse; and so it is easier and safer always to be a hireling serving your enemies than a statesman attached to you.

That he should co-operate openly with Philip before the war, was shocking—O heaven and earth! could it be otherwise?—against his country! Yet allow him if you please, allow him this. But when the ships had openly been made prize, Chersonesus was ravaged, the man was marching against Attica, matters were no longer doubtful, war had begun—nothing that he ever did for you can this malicious iambic-mouther show—not a resolution has Æschines, great or small, concerning the interests of the state. If he asserts it, let him prove it now while my waterglass is running. But there is none. He is reduced to an alternative—either he had no fault to find with my measures, and therefore moved none against them; or he sought the good of the enemy, and therefore would not propose any better.

Did he abstain from speaking as well as moving when any mischief was to be done to you? Why, no one else could speak a word. Other things, it appears, the country could endure, and he could [illegible]lish without detection; but one last act he achieved, O Athenians, which crowned all he had done before; on which he lavished that multitude of words, recounting the decrees against the Amphissian Locrians, in hopes of distorting the truth. But the thing

admits it not. No! never will you wash yourself clean from your performances there—talk as long as you will!

In your presence, men of Athens, I invoke all the gods and goddesses to whom the Attic territory belongs, and Pythian Apollo the father-god of our state; and I implore them all! As I shall declare the truth to you, as I declared it in your assembly at the time, the very moment I saw this wretch putting his hand to the work—for I perceived, instantly perceived it—so may they grant me favor and protection! If from malice or personal rivalry I bring a false charge against my opponent, may they cut me off from every blessing!

But wherefore this imprecation, this solemn assurance? Because, though I have documents lying in the public archives, from which I shall clearly prove my assertions, though I know you remember the facts, I fear this man may be considered unequal to the mischiefs which he has wrought; as before happened, when he caused the destruction of the unhappy Phocians by his false reports to you.

The Amphissian war, I say—which brought Philip to Elatea, which caused him to be chosen general of the Amphictyons, which ruined everything in Greece—was this man's contrivance. He is the single author of all our heaviest calamities. I protested at the time, and cried out in the assembly—"You are bringing a war, Æschines, into Attica, an Amphictyonic war"—but his packed party would not let me be heard; the rest wondered, and supposed that I was bringing an idle charge against him out of personal enmity. However, the real character of those transactions, the purpose for which they were got up, the manner in which they were accomplished, hear ye now, men of Athens, as ye were prevented then. You will see that

the thing was well concerted, and it will help you much to get a knowledge of public affairs, and what craftiness there was in Philip you will observe.

Philip could neither finish nor get rid of the war with Athens, unless he made the Thebans and Thessalians her enemies. Though your generals fought against him without fortune or skill, yet from the war itself and the cruisers he suffered infinite damage. He could neither export any of the produce of his country, nor import what he needed. He was not then superior to you at sea, nor able to reach Attica, unless the Thessalians followed him and the Thebans gave him a passage; so that, while he overcame in war the generals whom you sent out—such as they were—I say nothing about that—he found himself distressed by the difference of your local position and means. Should he urge either Thessalians or Thebans to march in his own quarrel against you, none, he thought, would attend to him: but should he, under the pretence of taking up their common cause, be elected general, he trusted partly by deceit and partly by persuasion to gain his ends more easily. He sets to work therefore—observe how cleverly—to get the Amphictyons into a war, and create a disturbance in the congress. For this he thought they would immediately want him. Now, if any of the presbyters commissioned by himself or any of his allies brought it forward, he imagined that both Thebans and Thessalians would suspect the thing, and would all be on their guard; whereas, if the agent were an Athenian and commissioned by your his opponents, it would easily pass unnoticed. And thus it turned out.

How did he effect his purpose? He hires the prosecutor. No one (I believe) was aware of the thing or attend-

ing to it, and so—just as these things are usually done at Athens—Æschines was proposed for Pylæan deputy, three or four held up their hands for him, and his election was declared. When clothed with the dignity of the state he arrived among the Amphictyons, dismissing and disregarding all besides, he hastened to execute what he was hired for. He makes up a pretty speech and story, showing how the Cirrhæan plain came to be consecrated; reciting this to the presbyters, men unused to speeches and unsuspicious of any consequences, he procures a vote from them to walk round the district, which the Amphissians maintained they had a right to cultivate, but which he charged to be parcel of the sacred plain. The Locrians were not then instituting any suit against us, or any such proceeding as Æschines now falsely alleges. This will show you—It was impossible (I fancy) for the Locrians to carry on process against our commonwealth without a citation. Who summoned us then? In whose archonship? Say who knows—point him out. You cannot. Your pretence was flimsy and false.

When the Amphictyons, at the instance of this man, walked over the plain, the Locrians fell upon them and wellnigh speared them all; some of the presbyters they carried off captive. Complaints having followed, and war being stirred up against the Amphissians, at first Cottyphus led an army composed entirely of Amphictyons; but as some never came, and those that came did nothing, measures were taken against the ensuing congress by an instructed gang, the old traitors of Thessaly and other states, to get the command for Philip. And they had found a fair pretext: for it was necessary, they said, either to subsidize themselves and maintain a mercenary force and fine all recusants, or to elect him. What need of many words?

He was thereupon chosen general; and immediately afterward collecting an army, and marching professedly against Cirrha, he bids a long farewell to the Cirrhæans and Locrians, and seizes Elatea. Had not the Thebans, upon seeing this, immediately changed their minds and sided with us, the whole thing would have fallen like a torrent upon our country. As it was, they for the instant stopped him; chiefly, O Athenians, by the kindness of some divinity to Athens, but secondly, as far as it could depend on a single man, through me. Give me those decrees, and the dates of the several transactions, that you may know what mischiefs this pestilent creature has stirred up with impunity. Read me the decrees.

THE DECREE OF THE AMPHICTYONS

"In the priesthood of Clinagoras, at the spring congress, it hath been resolved by the deputies and councillors of the Amphictyons, and by the assembly of the Amphictyons, seeing that the Amphissians trespass upon the sacred plain and sow and depasture it with cattle, that the deputies and councillors do enter thereupon and define the boundaries with pillars, and enjoin the Amphissians not to trespass for the future."

ANOTHER DECREE

"In the priesthood of Clinagoras, at the spring congress, it hath been resolved by the deputies and councillors of the Amphictyons and by the assembly of the Amphictyons, seeing that the people of Amphissa have partitioned among themselves the sacred plain and cultivate and feed cattle upon the same, and on being interrupted have come in arms, and with force resisted the general council of the Greeks, and have wounded some of them: that Cottyphus the Arcadian, who hath been elected general of the Amphictyons, be sent ambassador to Philip of Macedon, and do request him to come to the aid of Apollo and the

Amphictyons, that he may not suffer the god to be insulted by the impious Amphissians; and do announce that the Greeks who are members of the Amphictyonic Council appoint him general with absolute powers."

Now read the dates of these transactions. They correspond with the time when Æschines was deputy. Read.

DATES

"Mnesithides archon, on the sixteenth of the month Anthesterion."

Now give me the letter which, when the Thebans would not hearken to Philip, he sends to his allies in Peloponnesus, that you may plainly see, even from this, how the true motives of his enterprise, his designs against Greece and the Thebans and yourselves, were concealed by him, while he affected to be taking measures for the common good under a decree of the Amphictyons. The man who furnished him with these handles and pretexts was Æschines. Read.

THE LETTER OF PHILIP

"Philip, king of Macedon, to the magistrates and councillors of the confederate Peloponnesians and to all the other allies greeting: Whereas the Locrians surnamed Ozolian, dwelling in Amphissa, commit sacrilege against the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and coming with arms despoil the sacred plain, I propose with your assistance to avenge the god, and to chastise people who violate any part of our recognized religion. Wherefore meet me with arms in Phocis, bringing provisions for forty days, in the ensuing month of Lous, as we style it, Boedromion, as the Athenians, Panemus, as the Corinthians. Those who do not meet us with all their forces, we shall visit with punishment. Farewell."

You see, he avoids all private pleas, and has recourse to an Amphictyonic. Who was it, I say, that helped him to this contrivance—that lent him these excuses? Who is most to blame for the misfortunes which have happened? Surely Æschines. Then go not about saying, O Athenians, that one man has inflicted these calamities on Greece. Heaven and earth! It was not a single man, but a number of miscreants in every state. Æschines was one of them; and, were I obliged to speak the truth without reserve, I should not hesitate to call him the common pest of all that have since been ruined, men, places, cities: for whoever supplies the seed, to him the crop is owing. I marvel, indeed, you turned not your faces away the moment you beheld him. But there is a thick darkness, it seems, between you and the truth.

The mention of this man's treasonable acts brings me to the part which I have myself taken in opposition to him. It is fair you should hear my account of it for many reasons, but chiefly, men of Athens, because it would be a shame, when I have undergone the toil of exertions on your behalf, that you should not endure the bare recital of them.

When I saw that the Thebans, and I may add the Athenians, were so led away by Philip's partisans and the corrupt men of either state, as to disregard and take no precaution against a danger which menaced both, and required the utmost precaution (I mean the suffering Philip's power to increase), and were readily disposed to enmity and strife with each other; I was constantly watchful to prevent it, not only because in my own judgment I deemed such vigilance expedient, but knowing that Aristophon, and Eubulus, had all along desired to bring about that union, and, while they were frequently opposed upon

other matters, were always agreed upon this. Men whom in their lifetime—you reptile!—you pestered with flattery, yet see not that you are accusing them in their graves: for the Theban policy that you reproach me with is a charge less affecting me than them, who approved that alliance before I did. But I must return.—I say, when Æschines had excited the war in Amphissa, and his coadjutors had helped to establish enmity with Thebes, Philip marched against us—that was the object for which these persons embroiled the states—and had we not roused up a little in time, we could never have recovered ourselves: so far had these men carried matters. In what position you then stood to each other you will learn from the recital of these decrees and answers. Here, take and read them.

DECREE

"In the Archonship of Heropythus, on the twenty-fifth of the month Elaphebolion, in the presidency of the Erechtheian tribe, by the advice of the Council and the Generals: Whereas Philip hath taken possession of certain neighboring cities, and is besieging others, and finally is preparing to advance against Attica, setting our treaty at naught, and designs to break his oaths and the peace, in violation of our common engagements: The Council and People have resolved to send unto him ambassadors, who shall confer with him, and exhort him above all to maintain his relations of amity with us and his convention, or if not, to give time to the Commonwealth for deliberation, and conclude an armistice until the month Thargelion. These have been chosen from the Council: Simus of Anagyrus, Euthydemus of Phlyus, Bulagoras of Alopece."

ANOTHER DECREE

"In the Archonship of Heropythus, on the last day of the month Munychion, by the advice of the Polemarch:

Whereas Philip designs to put the Thebans at variance with us, and hath prepared to advance with his whole army to the places nearest to Attica, violating the engagements that subsist between us, the Council and People have resolved to send unto him a herald and ambassadors, who shall request and call upon him to conclude an armistice, so that the people may take measures according to circumstances; for now they do not purpose to march out in the event of anything reasonable. Nearchus, son of Sosinomus, and Polycrates, son of Epiphron, have been chosen from the Council; and for herald, Eunomus of Anaphlystus from the People."

Now read the answers:

THE ANSWER TO THE ATHENIANS

"Philip, king of Macedon, to the Council and People of Athens greeting: Of the part which you have taken in reference to me from the beginning I am not ignorant, nor what exertions you are making to gain over the Thessalians and Thebans, and also the Bœotians. Since they are more prudent, and will not submit their choice to your dictation, but stand by their own interest, you shift your ground, and sending ambassadors and a herald to me, you talk of engagements and ask for an armistice, although I have given you no offence. However, I have given audience to your ambassadors, and I agree to your request and am ready to conclude an armistice, if you will dismiss your evil counsellors and degrade them as they deserve. Farewell."

THE ANSWER TO THE THEBANS

"Philip, king of Macedon, to the Council and People of Thebes greeting: I have received your letter, wherein you renew peace and amity with me. I am informed, however, that the Athenians are most earnestly soliciting you to accept their overtures. I blamed you at first for being inclined to put faith in their promises and to espouse their policy. But

since I have discovered that you would rather maintain peace with me than follow the counsels of others, I praise you the more on divers accounts, but chiefly because you have consulted in this business for your safety, and preserve your attachment to me, which I trust will be of no small moment to you, if you persevere in that determination. Farewell."

Philip having thus disposed the states toward each other by his contrivances, and being elated by these decrees and answers, came with his army and seized Elatea, confident that, happen what might, you and the Thebans could never again unite. What commotion there was in the city you all know; but let me just mention the most striking circumstances.

It was evening. A person came with a message to the presidents that Elatea was taken. They rose from supper immediately, drove off the people from their market-stalls, and set fire to the wicker-frames; others sent for the generals and called the trumpeter; and the city was full of commotion. The next morning at daybreak the presidents summoned the council to their hall, and you went to the assembly, and before they could introduce or prepare the question, the whole people were up in their seats. When the council had entered, and the presidents had reported their intelligence and presented the courier, and he had made his statement, the crier asked—"Who wishes to speak?"—and no one came forward. The crier put the question repeatedly—still no man rose, though all the generals were present and all the orators, and our country with her common voice called for some one to speak and save her—for when the crier raises his voice according to law, it may justly be deemed the common voice of our country. If those who desired the salvation of Athens were the proper

parties to come forward, all of you and the other Athenians would have risen and mounted the platform; for I am sure you all desired her salvation—if those of greatest wealth, the three-hundred—if those who were both, friendly to the state and wealthy, the men who afterward gave such ample donations; for patriotism and wealth produced the gift. But that occasion, that day, as it seems, called not only for a patriot and a wealthy man, but for one who had closely followed the proceedings from their commencement, and rightly calculated for what object and purpose Philip carried them on. A man who was ignorant of these matters, or had not long and carefully studied them, let him be ever so patriotic or wealthy, would neither see what measures were needful, nor be competent to advise you.

Well, then—I was the man called for upon that day. I came forward and addressed you. What I said, I beg you for two reasons attentively to hear—first, to be convinced that of all your orators and statesmen I alone deserted not the patriot's post in the hour of danger, but was found in the very moment of panic speaking and moving what your necessities required—secondly, because at the expense of a little time you will gain large experience for the future in all your political concerns.

I said—those who were in such alarm under the idea that Philip had got the Thebans with him did not, in my opinion, understand the position of affairs; for I was sure, had that really been so, we should have heard not of his being at Elatea, but upon our frontiers: he was come, however, I knew for certain, to make all right for himself in Thebes. "Let me inform you," said I, "how the matter stands.—All the Thebans whom it was possible either to bribe or deceive he has at his command; those who have

resisted him from the first and still oppose him he can in no way prevail upon: what then is his meaning, and why has he seized upon Elatea? He means, by displaying a force in the neighborhood, and bringing up his troops, to encourage and embolden his friends, to intimidate his adversaries, that they may either concede from fear what they now refuse, or be compelled. Now"—said I—"if we determine on the present occasion to remember any unkindness which the Thebans have done us, and to regard them in the character of enemies with distrust, in the first place, we shall be doing just what Philip would desire; in the next place, I fear, his present adversaries embracing his friendship and all Philippizing with one consent, they will both march against Attica. But if you will hearken to me, and be pleased to examine (not cavil at) what I say, I believe it will meet your approval, and I shall dispel the danger impending over Athens. What then do I advise? —First, away with your present fear; and rather fear all of ye for the Thebans—they are nearer harm than we are—to them the peril is more immediate:—next I say, march to Eleusis, all the fighting men and the cavalry, and show yourselves to the world in arms, that your partisans in Thebes may have equal liberty to speak up for the good cause, knowing that, as the faction who sell their country to Philip have an army to support them at Elatea, so the party that will contend for freedom have your assistance at hand if they are assailed. Further I recommend you to elect ten ambassadors, and empower them in conjunction with the generals to fix the time for going there and for the outmarch. When the ambassadors have arrived at Thebes, how do I advise that you should treat the matter? Pray attend particularly to this—Ask nothing of the

Thebans (it would be dishonorable at this time); but offer to assist them if they require it, on the plea that they are in extreme danger, and we see the future better than they do. If they accept this offer and hearken to our counsels, so shall we have accomplished what we desire, and our conduct will look worthy of the state: should we miscarry, they will have themselves to blame for any error committed now, and we shall have done nothing dishonorable or mean."

This and more to the like effect I spoke, and left the platform. It was approved by all; not a word was said against me. Nor did I make the speech without moving, nor make the motion without undertaking the embassy, nor undertake the embassy without prevailing on the Thebans. From the beginning to the end I went through it all; I gave myself entirely to your service, to meet the dangers which encompassed Athens.

Produce me the decree which then passed. Now, Æschines, how would you have me describe you, and how myself, upon that day? Shall I call myself Batalus, your nickname of reproach, and you not even a hero of the common sort, but one of those upon the stage, Cresphontes or Creon, or the Œnomaus whom you execrably murdered once at Colyttus? Well; upon that occasion I the Batalus of Pæania was more serviceable to the state than you the Œnomaus of Cothocidæ. You were of no earthly use; I did everything which became a good citizen. Read the decree.

THE DECREE OF DEMOSTHENES

"In the Archonship of Nausicles, in the presidency of the Æantian tribe, on the sixteenth of Scirophorion, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, moved: Whereas Philip, king of Macedon, hath in time past been violating the

treaty of peace made between him and the Athenian people, in contempt of his oaths and those laws of justice which are recognized among all the Greeks, and hath been annexing unto himself cities that no way belong to him, and hath besieged and taken some which belong to the Athenians without any provocation by the people of Athens, and at the present time he is making great advances in cruelty and violence, forasmuch as in certain Greek cities he puts garrisons and overturns their constitution, some he razes to the ground and sells the inhabitants for slaves, in some he replaces a Greek population with barbarians, giving them possession of the temple and sepulchres, acting in no way foreign to his own country or character, making an insolent use of his present fortune, and forgetting that from a petty and insignificant person he has come to be unexpectedly great; and the people of Athens, so long as they saw him annexing barbarian or private cities of their own, less seriously regarded the offence given to themselves, but now that they see Greek cities outraged and some destroyed, they think it would be monstrous and unworthy of their ancestral glory to look on while the Greeks are enslaved: Therefore it is resolved by the Council and People of Athens, that having prayed and sacrificed to the gods and heroes who protect the Athenian city and territory, bearing in mind the virtue of their ancestors, who deemed it of greater moment to preserve the liberty of Greece than their own country, they will put two hundred ships to sea, and their admiral shall sail up into the straits of Thermopylæ, and their general and commander of horse shall march with the infantry and cavalry to Eleusis, and ambassadors shall be sent to the other Greeks, and first of all to the Thebans, because Philip is nearest their territory, and shall exhort them without dread of Philip to maintain their own independence and that of Greece at large, and assure them that the Athenian people, not remembering any variance which has formerly arisen between the countries, will assist them with troops and money and weapons and arms, feeling that for them

(being Greeks) to contend among themselves for the leadership is honorable, but to be commanded and deprived of the leadership by a man of foreign extraction is derogatory to the renown of the Greeks and the virtue of their ancestors: further, the people of Athens do not regard the people of Thebes as aliens either in blood or race; they remember also the benefits conferred by their ancestors upon the ancestors of the Thebans; for they restored the children of Hercules who were kept by the Peloponnesians out of their hereditary dominion, defeating in battle those who attempted to resist the descendants of Hercules; and we gave shelter to Œ lipus and his comrades in exile; and many other kind and generous acts have been done by us to the Thebans: wherefore now also the people of Athens will not desert the interests of the Thebans and the other Greeks: And let a treaty be entered into with them for alliance and intermarriage, and oaths be mutually exchanged. Ambassadors: Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, Hyperides, son of Cleander of Spettus, Mnesithides, son of Antiphanes of Phrearrii, Democrates, son of Sophilus of Phlyus, Callæschrus, son of Diotimus of Cothocidæ."

That was the commencement and first step in the negotiation with Thebes: before then the countries had been led by these men into discord and hatred and jealousy. That decree caused the peril which then surrounded us to pass away like a cloud. It was the duty of a good citizen, if he had any better plan, to disclose it at the time, not to find fault now. A statesman and a pettifogger, while in no other respect are they alike, in this most widely differ. The one declares his opinion before the proceedings, and makes himself responsible to his followers, to fortune, to the times, to all men: the other is silent when he ought to speak; at any untoward event he grumbles. Now, as I said before, the time for a man who regarded the common-

wealth, and for honest counsel, was then: however I will go to this extent—if any one now can point out a better course, or indeed if any other was practicable but the one which I adopted, I confess that I was wrong. For if there be any measure now discovered, which (executed then) would have been to our advantage, I say it ought not to have escaped me. But if there is none, if there was none, if none can be suggested even at this day, what was a statesman to do? Was he not to choose the best measures within his reach and view? That did I, Æschines, when the crier asked, "Who wishes to speak?"—not, "Who wishes to complain about the past, or to guarantee the future?" While you on those occasions sat mute in the assembly, I came forward and spake. However, as you omitted then, tell us now. Say what scheme that I ought to have devised, what favorable opportunity was lost to the state by my neglect?—what alliance was there, what better plan, to which I should have directed the people? But no! The past is with all the world given up; no one even proposes to deliberate about it: the future it is, or the present, which demands the action of a counsellor. At the time, as it appeared, there were dangers impending, and dangers at hand. Mark the line of my policy at that crisis; don't rail at the event. The end of all things is what the Deity pleases: his line of policy it is that shows the judgment of the statesman. Do not then impute it as a crime to me that Philip chanced to conquer in battle: that issue depended not on me, but on God. Prove that I adopted not all measures that according to human calculation were feasible—that I did not honestly and diligently and with exertions beyond my strength carry them out—or that my enterprises were not honorable and worthy of the

state and necessary. Show me this, and accuse me as soon as you like. But if the hurricane that visited us hath been too powerful, not for us only, but for all Greece besides, what is the fair course? As if a merchant, after taking every precaution, and furnishing his vessel with everything that he thought would insure her safety, because afterward he met with a storm and his tackle was strained or broken to pieces, should be charged with the shipwreck! "Well, but I was not the pilot"—he might say—just as I was not the general.—"Fortune was not under my control: all was under hers."

Consider and reflect upon this—If, with the Thebans on our side, we were destined so to fare in the contest, what was to be expected, if we had never had them for allies, but they had joined Philip, as he used every effort of persuasion to make them do? And if, when the battle was fought three days' march from Attica, such peril and alarm surrounded the city, what must we have expected, if the same disaster had happened in some part of our territory? As it was (do you see?) we could stand, meet, breathe; mightily did one, two, three days, help to our preservation: in the other case—but it is wrong to mention things of which we have been spared the trial by the favor of some deity, and by our protecting ourselves with the very alliance which you assail.

All this, at such length, have I addressed to you, men of the jury, and to the outer circle of hearers; for, as to this contemptible fellow, a short and plain argument would suffice.

If the future was revealed to you, Æschines, alone, when the state was deliberating on these proceedings, you ought to have forewarned us at the time. If you did not

foresee it, you are responsible for the same ignorance as the rest. Why then do you accuse me in this behalf, rather than I you? A better citizen have I been than you in respect of the matters of which I am speaking (others I discuss not at present), inasmuch as I gave myself up to what seemed for the general good, not shrinking from any personal danger, nor taking thought of any; while you neither suggested better measures (or mine would not have been adopted), nor lent any aid in the prosecuting of mine: exactly what the basest person and worst enemy of the state would do, are you found to have done after the event; and at the same time Aristratus in Naxos and Aristolaus in Thasos, the deadly foes of our state, are bringing to trial the friends of Athens, and Æschines at Athens is accusing Demosthenes. Surely the man, who waited to found his reputation upon the misfortunes of the Greeks, deserves rather to perish than to accuse another; nor is it possible that one, who has profited by the same conjunctures as the enemies of the commonwealth, can be a well-wisher of his country. You show yourself by your life and conduct, by your political action, and even your political inaction. Is anything going on that appears good for the people? Æschines is mute. Has anything untoward happened or amiss? Forth comes Æschines; just as fractures and sprains are put in motion, when the body is attacked with disease.

But since he insists so strongly on the event, I will even assert something of a paradox: and I beg and pray of you not to marvel at its boldness, but kindly to consider what I say. If then the results had been foreknown to all, if all had foreseen them, and you, Æschines, had foretold them and protested with clamor and outcry—you that never

opened your mouth—not even then should the commonwealth have abandoned her design, if she had any regard for glory, or ancestry, or futurity. As it is, she appears to have failed in her enterprise, a thing to which all mankind are liable, if the Deity so wills it: but then—claiming precedency over others and afterward abandoning her pretensions—she would have incurred the charge of betraying all to Philip. Why, had we resigned without a struggle that which our ancestors encountered every danger to win, who would not have spit upon you? Let me not say, the commonwealth or myself! With what eyes, I pray, could we have beheld strangers visiting the city, if the result had been what it is, and Philip had been chosen leader and lord of all, but other people without us had made the struggle to prevent it; especially when in former times our country had never preferred an ignominious security to the battle for honor? For what Grecian or what barbarian is ignorant that by the Thebans, or by the Lacedæmonians who were in might before them, or by the Persian king, permission would thankfully and gladly have been given to our commonwealth, to take what she pleased and hold her own, provided she would accept foreign law and let another power command in Greece? But, as it seems, to the Athenians of that day such conduct would not have been national, or natural, or endurable: none could at any period of time persuade the commonwealth to attach herself in secure subjection to the powerful and unjust; through every age has she persevered in a perilous struggle for precedency and honor and glory. And this you esteem so noble and congenial to your principles, that among your ancestors you honor most those who acted in such a spirit; and with reason. For who would not admire the virtue of

those men, who resolutely embarked in their galleys and quitted country and home, rather than receive foreign law, choosing Themistocles, who gave such counsel for their general, and stoning Cyrsilus to death, who advised submission to the terms imposed—not him only, but your wives also stoning his wife? Yes; the Athenians of that day looked not for an orator or a general, who might help them to a pleasant servitude: they scorned to live, if it could not be with freedom. For each of them considered that he was not born to his father or mother only, but also to his country. What is the difference? He that thinks himself born for his parents only, waits for his appointed or natural end: he that thinks himself born for his country also, will sooner perish than behold her in slavery, and will regard the insults and indignities, which must be borne in a commonwealth enslaved, as more terrible than death.

Had I attempted to say, that I instructed you in sentiments worthy of your ancestors, there is not a man who would not justly rebuke me. What I declare is, that such principles are your own; I show that before my time such was the spirit of the commonwealth; though certainly in the execution of the particular measures I claim a share also for myself. The prosecutor, arraigning the whole proceedings, and imbittering you against me as the cause of our alarms and dangers, in his eagerness to deprive me of honor for the moment, robs you of the eulogies that should endure forever. For should you, under a disbelief in the wisdom of my policy, convict the defendant, you will appear to have done wrong not to have suffered what befell you by the cruelty of fortune. But never, never can you have done wrong, O Athenians, in undertaking the battle for the freedom and safety of all! I swear it by your fore-

fathers—those that met the peril at Marathon, those that took the field at Platæa, those in the sea-fight at Salamis, and those at Artemisium, and many other brave men who repose in the public monuments, all of whom alike, as being worthy of the same honor, the country buried, Æschines, not only the successful or victorious! Justly! For the duty of brave men has been done by all: their fortune has been such as the Deity assigned to each.

Accursed scribbler! you, to deprive me of the approbation and affection of my countrymen, speak of trophies and battles and ancient deeds, with none of which had this present trial the least concern; but I!—O you third-rate actor!—I, that rose to counsel the state how to maintain her pre-eminence! in what spirit was I to mount the hustings? In the spirit of one having unworthy counsel to offer?—I should have deserved to perish! You yourselves, men of Athens, may not try private and public causes on the same principles: the compacts of every-day life you are to judge of by particular laws and circumstances; the measures of statesmen, by reference to the dignity of your ancestors. And if you think it your duty to act worthily of them, you should every one of you consider, when you come into court to decide public questions, that together with your staff and ticket the spirit of the commonwealth is delivered to you.

But in touching upon the deeds of your ancestors, there were some decrees and transactions which I omitted. I will return from my digression.

On our arrival at Thebes, we found ambassadors there from Philip, from the Thessalians and from his other allies; our friends in trepidation, his friends confident. To prove that I am not asserting this now to serve my own purposes,

read me the letter which we ambassadors despatched on the instant. So outrageous is my opponent's malignity, that, if any advantage was procured, he attributes it to the occasion, not to me; while all miscarriages he attributes to me and my fortune. And according to him, as it seems, I, the orator and adviser, have no merit in results of argument and counsel, but am the sole author of misfortunes in arms and strategy. Could there be a more brutal calumniator or a more execrable? Read the letter.

[*The letter is read*][1]

On the convening of the assembly, our opponents were introduced first, because they held the character of allies. And they came forward and spoke, in high praise of Philip and disparagement of you, bringing up all the hostilities that you ever committed against the Thebans. In fine, they urged them to show their gratitude for the services done by Philip, and to avenge themselves for the injuries which you had done them, either—it mattered not which—by giving them a passage against you, or by joining in the invasion of Attica; and they proved, as they fancied, that by adopting their advice the cattle and slaves and other effects of Attica would come into Bœotia, whereas by acting as they said we should advise Bœotia would suffer pillage through the war. And much they said besides, tending all to the same point. The reply that we made I would give my life to recapitulate, but I fear, as the occasion is past, you will look upon it as if a sort of deluge had overwhelmed the whole proceedings, and regard any talk about them as a useless troubling of you. Hear then

[1] This, and all the documents subsequently referred to by the Orator, are lost.

what we persuaded them and what answer they returned. Take and read this:

[*The answer of the Thebans*]

After this they invited and sent for you. You marched to their succor, and—to omit what happened between—their reception of you was so friendly, that, while their infantry and cavalry were outside the walls, they admitted your army into their houses and citadel, among their wives and children and all that was most precious. Why, upon that day three of the noblest testimonies were before all mankind borne in your favor by the Thebans, one to your courage, one to your justice, one to your good behavior. For when they preferred fighting on your side to fighting against you, they held you to be braver and juster in your demands than Philip; and when they put under your charge what they and all men are most watchful to protect, their wives and children, they showed that they had confidence in your good behavior. In all which, men of Athens, it appeared they had rightly estimated your character. For after your forces entered the city, not so much as a groundless complaint was preferred against you by any one; so discreetly did you behave yourselves: and twice arrayed on their side in the earlier battles, that by the river and the winter-battle, you proved yourselves not irreproachable only, but admirable in your discipline, your equipments, and your zeal: which called forth eulogies from other men to you, sacrifice and thanksgiving from you to the gods. And I would gladly ask Æschines—while these things were going on, and the city was full of enthusiasm and joy and praise, whether he joined with the multitude in sacrifice and festivity, or sat at home sorrowing and moaning and repining

at the public success. For if he was present and appeared with the rest, is not his conduct monstrous, or rather impious, when measures, which he himself called the gods to witness were excellent, he now requires you to condemn—you that have sworn by the gods? If he was not present, does he not deserve a thousand deaths for grieving to behold what others rejoiced at? Read me now the decrees.

[*The decrees for sacrifice*]

We thus were engaged in sacrifice; the Thebans were in the assurance that they had been saved through us; and it had come about, that a people, who seemed likely to want assistance through the practices of these men, were themselves assisting others in consequence of my advice which you followed. What language Philip then uttered, and in what trouble he was on this account, you shall learn from his letters which he sent to Peloponnesus. Take and read them, that the jury may know what my perseverance and journeys and toils, and the many decrees which this man just now pulled to pieces, accomplished.

Athenians, you have had many great and renowned orators before me; the famous Callistratus, Aristophon, Cephalus, Thrasybulus, hundreds of others; yet none of them ever thoroughly devoted himself to any measure of state: for instance, the mover of a resolution would not be ambassador; the ambassador would not move a resolution; each one left for himself some relief, and also, should anything happen, an excuse. How then—it may be said—did you so far surpass others in might and boldness as to do everything yourself? I don't say that: but such was my conviction of the danger impending over us, that I con-

sidered it left no room or thought for individual security; a man should have been only too happy to perform his duty without neglect. As to myself, I was persuaded, perhaps foolishly, yet I was persuaded, that none would move better resolutions than myself, none would execute them better, none as ambassador would show more zeal and honesty. Therefore I undertook every duty myself. Read the letters of Philip.

[*The letters*]

To this did my policy, Æschines, reduce Philip. This language he uttered through me, he that before had lifted his voice so boldly against Athens! For which I was justly crowned by the people; and you were present and opposed it not, and Diondas, who preferred an indictment obtained not his share of the votes. Here, read me the decrees which were then absolved, and which this man never indicted.

[*The decrees*]

These decrees, men of Athens, contain the very words and syllables which Aristonicus drew up formerly, and Ctesiphon the defendant has now. And Æschines neither arraigned these himself, nor aided the party who preferred an indictment. Yet, if his present charge against me be true, he might then have arraigned Demomeles the mover and Hyperides with more show of reason than he can the defendant. Why? Because Ctesiphon may refer to them, and to the decisions of the courts, and to the fact of Æschines not having accused them, although they moved the same decrees which he has now, and to the laws which bar any further proceedings in such a case, and to many points besides:—whereas then the question would have

been tried on its own merits, before any such advantages had been obtained. But then, I imagine, it would have been impossible to do what Æschines now does—to pick out of a multitude of old dates and decrees what no man knew before, and what no man would have expected to hear to-day, for the purpose of slander—to transpose dates, and assign measures to the wrong causes instead of the right, in order to make a plausible case. That was impossible then. Every statement must have been according to the truth, soon after the facts, while you still remembered the particulars and had them almost at your fingers' ends. Therefore it was that he shunned all investigation at the time, and has come at this late period; thinking, as it appears to me, that you would make it a contest of orators, instead of an inquiry into political conduct; that words would be criticised, and not interests of state.

Then he plays the sophist, and says, you ought to disregard the opinion of us which you came from home with—that, as when you audit a man's account under the impression that he has a surplus, if it casts up right and nothing remains, you allow it, so should you now accept the fair conclusion of the argument. Only see, how rotten in its nature (and justly so) is every wicked contrivance! For by this very cunning simile he has now acknowledged it to be your conviction, that I am my country's advocate and he is Philip's. Had not this been your opinion of each, he would not have tried to persuade you differently. That he has however no reasonable ground for requiring you to change your belief, I can easily show, not by casting accounts—for that mode of reckoning applies not to measures—but by calling the circumstances briefly to mind, taking you that hear me both for auditors and witnesses.

Through my policy, which he arraigns, instead of the Thebans invading this country with Philip, as all expected, they joined our ranks and prevented him;—instead of the war being in Attica, it took place seven hundred furlongs from the city on the confines of Bœotia;—instead of corsairs issuing from Eubœa to plunder us, Attica was in peace on the coast-side during the whole war;—instead of Philip being master of the Hellespont by taking Byzantium, the Byzantines were our auxiliaries against him. Does this computation of services, think you, resemble the casting of accounts? Or should we strike these out on a balance, and not look that they be kept in everlasting remembrance? I will not set down that of the cruelty, remarkable in cases where Philip got people all at once into his power, others have had the trial; while of the generosity, which, casting about for his future purposes, he assumed toward Athens, you have happily enjoyed the fruits. I pass that by.

Yet this I do not hesitate to say; that any one desirous of truly testing an orator, not of calumniating him, would never have made the charges that you advanced just now, inventing similes, mimicking words and gestures (doubtless it hath determined the fortune of Greece, whether I spoke this word or that, whether I moved my hand one way or the other!): no! he would have examined the facts of the case, what means and resources our country possessed, when I entered on the administration, what, when I applied myself to it, I collected for her, and what was the condition of our adversaries. Then, if I had lessened her resources, he would have shown me to be guilty; if I had greatly increased them, he would not have calumniated me. However, as you have declined this course, I will adopt it. See if I state the case fairly.

For resources—our country possessed the islanders; not all, but the weakest; for neither Chios, nor Rhodes, nor Corcyra was with us: subsidies she had amounting to five-and-forty talents; and they were anticipated: infantry or cavalry, none besides the native. But what was most alarming and wrought most in favor of the enemy—these men had got all our neighbors to be hostile rather than friendly to us; Megarians, Thebans, Eubœans. Such were the circumstances of our state; no man can say anything to the contrary: look now at those of Philip, whom we had to contend with. In the first place, he ruled his followers with unlimited sway, the most important thing for military operations: in the next place, they had arms always in their hands: besides, he had plenty of money, and did what he pleased, not giving notice by decrees, not deliberating openly, not brought to trial by calumniators, not defending indictments for illegal measures, not responsible to any one, but himself absolute master, leader, and lord of all. I, who was matched against him—for it is right to examine this—what had I under my control? Nothing. Public speech, for instance, the only thing open to me—even to this you invited his hirelings as well as myself; and whenever they prevailed over me (as often happened for some cause or other), your resolutions were passed for the enemy's good. Still under these disadvantages I got you for allies Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megarians, Leucadians, Corcyræans; from whom were collected fifteen thousand mercenaries and two thousand horse, besides the national troops. Of money, too, I procured as large a contribution as possible.

If you talk about just conditions with the Thebans, Æschines, or with the Byzantines or Eubœans, or discuss

now the question of equal terms, first I say—you are ignorant that of those galleys formerly which defended Greece, being three hundred in number, our commonwealth furnished two hundred, and never (as it seemed) thought herself injured by having done so, never prosecuted those who advised it or expressed any dissatisfaction—shame on her if she had!—but was grateful to the gods, that, when a common danger beset the Greeks, she alone furnished double what the rest did for the preservation of all. Besides, it is but a poor favor you do your countrymen by calumniating me. For what is the use of telling us now what we should have done?—Why, being in the city and present, did you not make your proposals then; if, indeed, they were practicable at a crisis, when we had to accept not what we liked, but what the circumstances allowed? Remember, there was one ready to bid against us, to welcome eagerly those that we rejected, and give money into the bargain.

But if I am accused for what I have actually done, how would it have been if, through my hard bargaining, the states had gone off and attached themselves to Philip, and he had become master at the same time of Eubœa, Thebes, and Byzantium? What, think ye, these impious men would have said or done? Said, doubtless, that the states were abandoned—that they wished to join us and were driven away—that he had got command of the Hellespont by the Byzantines, and become master of the corn-trade of Greece—that a heavy neighbor-war had by means of the Thebans been brought into Attica—that the sea had become unnavigable by the excursion of pirates from Eubœa! All this would they have said, sure enough, and a great deal besides. A wicked, wicked thing, O Athenians, is a calumniator always, every way spiteful and faultfinding. But

this creature is a reptile by nature, that from the beginning never did anything honest or liberal; a very ape of a tragedian, village Œnomaus, counterfeit orator! What advantage has your eloquence been to your country? Now do you speak to us about the past? As if a physician should visit his patients, and not order or prescribe anything to cure the disease, but on the death of any one, when the last ceremonies were performing, should follow him to the grave and expound how, if the poor fellow had done this and that, he never would have died! Idiot! do you speak now?

Even the defeat—if you exult in that which should make you groan, you accursed one!—by nothing that I have done will it appear to have befallen us. Consider it thus, O Athenians. From no embassy, on which I was commissioned by you, did I ever come away defeated by the ambassadors of Philip—neither from Thessaly, nor from Ambracia, nor from the kings of Thrace, nor from Byzantium, nor from any other place, nor on the last recent occasion from Thebes; but where his ambassadors were vanquished in argument, he came with arms and carried the day. And for this you call me to account; and are not ashamed to jeer the same person for cowardice, whom you require single-handed to overcome the might of Philip—and that, too, by words! For what else had I at my command? Certainly not the spirit of each individual, nor the fortune of the army, nor the conduct of the war, for which you would make me accountable; such a blunderer are you!

Yet understand me. Of what a statesman may be responsible for I allow the utmost scrutiny; I deprecate it not. What are his functions? To observe things in the be-

ginning, to foresee and foretell them to others—this I have done: again; wherever he finds delays, backwardness, ignorance, jealousies, vices inherent and unavoidable in all communities, to contract them into the narrowest compass, and, on the other hand, to promote unanimity and friendship and zeal in the discharge of duty. All this, too, I have performed; and no one can discover the least neglect on my part. Ask any man by what means Philip achieved most of his successes, and you will be told, by his army, and by his bribing and corrupting men in power. Well; your forces were not under my command or control; so that I cannot be questioned for anything done in that department. But by refusing the price of corruption I have overcome Philip: for as the offerer of a bribe, if it be accepted, has vanquished the taker, so the person who refuses it and is not corrupted has vanquished the person offering. Therefore is the commonwealth undefeated as far as I am concerned.

These and such as these (besides many others) are the grounds furnished by myself to justify the defendant's motion in my behalf. Those which you, my fellow-citizens, furnished, I will proceed to mention. Immediately after the battle the people, knowing and having witnessed everything which I did, in the very midst of their alarm and terror, when it would not have been surprising if the great body of them had even treated me harshly, passed my resolutions for the safety of the country; all their measures of defence, the disposition of the garrisons, the trenches, the levies for our fortifications, were carried on under my decrees: and, further, upon the election of a commissioner of grain, they chose me in preference to all. Afterward, when those who were bent to do me a mischief

conspired, and brought indictments, audits, impeachments and the rest of it against me, not at first in their own persons, but in such names as they imagined would most effectually screen themselves (for you surely know and remember that every day of that first period I was arraigned, and neither the desperation of Sosicles, nor the malignity of Philocrates, nor the madness of Diondas and Melantus, nor anything else was left untried by them against me); on all those occasions, chiefly through the gods, next through you and the other Athenians, I was preserved. And with justice! Yes, that is the truth, and to the honor of the juries who so conscientiously decided. Well, then: on the impeachments, when you acquitted me and gave not the prosecutors their share of the votes, you pronounced that my policy was the best: by my acquittal on the indictments my counsels and motions were shown to be legal; by your passing of my accounts you acknowledged my whole conduct to have been honest and incorruptible. Under these circumstances, what name could Ctesiphon with decency or justice give to my acts? Not that which he saw the people give—which he saw the jurors give—which he saw truth establish to the world?

Aye, says he; but that was a fine thing of Cephalus, never to have been indicted. Yes, and a lucky one, too. But why should a man, who has often been charged, but never convicted of crime, be a whit the more liable to reproach? However, men of Athens, against my opponent I have a right to use the boast of Cephalus; for he never preferred or prosecuted any indictment against me; therefore I am a citizen as good as Cephalus by his admission.

From many things one may see his unfeelingness and malignity, but especially from his discourse about fortune.

For my part, I regard any one, who reproaches his fellow-man with fortune, as devoid of sense. He that is best satisfied with his condition, he that deems his fortune excellent, cannot be sure that it will remain so until the evening: how, then, can it be right to bring it forward, or upbraid another man with it? As Æschines, however, has on this subject (besides many others) expressed himself with insolence, look, men of Athens, and observe how much more truth and humanity there shall be in my discourse upon fortune than in his.

I hold the fortune of our commonwealth to be good, and so I find the oracles of Dodonæan Jupiter and Pythian Apollo declaring to us. The fortune of all mankind, which now prevails, I consider cruel and dreadful: for what Greek, what barbarian, has not in these times experienced a multitude of evils? That Athens chose the noblest policy, that she fares better than those very Greeks who thought, if they abandoned us, they should abide in prosperity, I reckon as part of her good fortune: if she suffered reverses, if all happened not to us as we desired, I conceive she has had that share of the general fortune which fell to our lot. As to my fortune (personally speaking) or that of any individual among us, it should, as I conceive, be judged of in connection with personal matters. Such is my opinion upon the subject of fortune, a right and just one, as it appears to me, and I think you will agree with it. Æschines says that my individual fortune is paramount to that of the commonwealth, the small and mean to the good and great. How can this possibly be?

However, if you are determined, Æschines, to scrutinize my fortune, compare it with your own, and, if you find my fortune better than yours, cease to revile it. Look, then,

from the very beginning. And I pray and entreat that I may not be condemned for bad taste. I don't think any person wise, who insults poverty, or who prides himself on having been bred in affluence: but by the slander and malice of this cruel man I am forced into such a discussion; which I will conduct with all the moderation which circumstances allow.

I had the advantage, Æschines, in my boyhood of going to proper schools, and having such allowance as a boy should have who is to do nothing mean from indigence. Arrived at man's estate, I lived suitably to my breeding; was choir-master, ship-commander, rate payer; backward in no acts of liberality, public or private, but making myself useful to the commonwealth and to my friends. When I entered upon state affairs, I chose such a line of politics that both by my country and many people of Greece I have been crowned many times, and not even you, my enemies, venture to say that the line I chose was not honorable. Such, then, has been the fortune of my life: I could enlarge upon it, but I forbear, lest what I pride myself in should give offence.

But you, the man of dignity, who spit upon others, look what sort of fortune is yours compared with mine. As a boy you were reared in abject poverty, waiting with your father on the school, grinding the ink, sponging the benches, sweeping the room, doing the duty of a menial rather than a freeman's son. After you were grown up, you attended your mother's initiations, reading her books and helping in all the ceremonies: at night wrapping the novitiates in fawn-skin, swilling, purifying, and scouring them with clay and bran, raising them after the lustration, and bidding them say, "Bad I have 'scaped, and better I

have found''; priding yourself that no one ever howled so lustily—and I believe him! for don't suppose that he who speaks so loud is not a splendid howler! In the daytime you led your noble orgiasts, crowned with fennel and poplar, through the highways, squeezing the big-cheeked serpents, and lifting them over your head, and shouting Evœ Sabœ, and capering to the words Hyes Attes, Attes Hyes, saluted by the beldames as Leader, Conductor, Chest-bearer, Fan-bearer, and the like, getting as your reward tarts and biscuits and rolls; for which any man might well bless himself and his fortune!

When you were enrolled among your fellow-townsmen —by what means I stop not to inquire—when you were enrolled however, you immediately selected the most honorable of employments, that of clerk and assistant to our petty magistrates. From this you were removed after a while, having done yourself all that you charge others with; and then, sure enough, you disgraced not your antecedents by your subsequent life, but hiring yourself to those ranting players, as they were called, Simylus and Socrates, you acted third parts, collecting figs and grapes and olives like a fruiterer from other men's farms, and getting more from them than from the playing, in which the lives of your whole company were at stake; for there was an implacable and incessant war between them and the audience, from whom you received so many wounds that no wonder you taunt as cowards people inexperienced in such encounters.

But passing over what may be imputed to poverty, I will come to the direct charges against your character. You espoused such a line of politics (when at last you thought of taking to them), that, if your country prospered, you lived the life of a hare, fearing and trembling and ever expecting

to be scourged for the crimes of which your conscience accused you; though all have seen how bold you were during the misfortunes of the rest. A man who took courage at the death of a thousand citizens—what does he deserve at the hands of the living? A great deal more that I could say about him I shall omit: for it is not all I can tell of his turpitude and infamy which I ought to let slip from my tongue, but only what is not disgraceful to myself to mention.

Contrast now the circumstances of your life and mine, gently and with temper, Æschines; and then ask these people whose fortune they would each of them prefer. You taught reading, I went to school: you performed initiations, I received them: you danced in the chorus, I furnished it: you were assembly-clerk, I was a speaker: you acted third parts, I heard you: you broke down, and I hissed: you have worked as a statesman for the enemy, I for my country. I pass by the rest; but this very day I am on my probation for a crown, and am acknowledged to be innocent of all offence; while you are already judged to be a pettifogger, and the question is, whether you shall continue that trade, or at once be silenced by not getting a fifth part of the votes. A happy fortune, do you see, you have enjoyed, that you should denounce mine as miserable.

Come now, let me read the evidence to the jury of public services which I have performed. And by way of comparison do you recite me the verses which you murdered:

> From Hades and the dusky realms I come.

And

> Ill news, believe me, I am loth to bear.

Ill betide thee, say I, and may the gods, or at least the

Athenians, confound thee for a vile citizen and a vile third-rate actor!

Read the evidence.

[*Evidence*]

Such has been my character in political matters. In private, if you do not all know that I have been liberal and humane and charitable to the distressed, I am silent, I will say not a word, I will offer no evidence on the subject, either of persons whom I ransomed from the enemy, or of persons whose daughters I helped to portion, or anything of the kind. For this is my maxim. I hold that the party receiving an obligation should ever remember it, the party conferring should forget it immediately, if the one is to act with honesty, the other without meanness. To remind and speak of your own bounties is next door to reproaching. I will not act so: nothing shall induce me. Whatever my reputation is in these respects, I am content with it.

I will have done then with private topics, but say another word or two upon public. If you can mention, Æschines, a single man under the sun, whether Greek or barbarian, who has not suffered by Philip's power formerly and Alexander's now, well and good; I concede to you, that my fortune, or misfortune (if you please), has been the cause of everything. But if many that never saw me or heard my voice have been grievously afflicted, not individuals only but whole cities and nations; how much juster and fairer is it to consider, that to the common fortune apparently of all men, to a tide of events overwhelming and lamentable, these disasters are to be attributed. You, disregarding all this, accuse me whose ministry has been among my countrymen, knowing all the while, that a part (if not the whole) of your calumny falls upon the people,

and yourself in particular. For if I assumed the sole and absolute direction of our counsels, it was open to you and other speakers to accuse me: but if you were constantly present in all the assemblies, if the state invited public discussion of what was expedient, and if these measures were then believed by all to be the best, and especially by you (for certainly from no goodwill did you leave me in possession of hopes and admiration and honors, all of which attended on my policy, but doubtless because you were compelled by the truth and had nothing better to advise); is it not iniquitous and monstrous to complain now of measures, than which you could suggest none better at the time?

Among all other people I find these principles in a manner defined and settled—Does a man wilfully offend? He is the object of wrath and punishment. Hath a man erred unintentionally? There is pardon instead of punishment for him. Has a man devoted himself to what seemed for the general good, and without any fault or misconduct been in common with all disappointed of success? Such a one deserves not obloquy or reproach, but sympathy. These principles will not be found in our statutes only: Nature herself has defined them by her unwritten laws and the feelings of humanity. Æschines, however, has so far surpassed all men in brutality and malignity, that even things which he cited himself as misfortunes he imputes to me as crimes.

And besides—as if he himself had spoken everything with candor and goodwill—he told you to watch me, and mind that I did not cajole and deceive you, calling me a great orator, a juggler, a sophist, and the like: as though, if a man says of another what applies to himself, it must

be true, and the hearers are not to inquire who the person is that makes the charge. Certain am I, that you are all acquainted with my opponent's character, and believe these charges to be more applicable to him than to me. And of this I am sure, that my oratory—let it be so: though indeed I find, that the speaker's power depends for the most part on the hearers; for according to your reception and favor it is, that the wisdom of a speaker is esteemed—if I however possess any ability of this sort, you will find it has been exhibited always in public business on your behalf, never against you or on personal matters; whereas that of Æschines has been displayed not only in speaking for the enemy, but against all persons who ever offended or quarrelled with him. It is not for justice or the good of the commonwealth that he employs it. A citizen of worth and honor should not call upon judges impanelled in the public service to gratify his anger or hatred or anything of that kind; nor should he come before you upon such grounds. The best thing is not to have these feelings; but, if it cannot be helped, they should be mitigated and restrained.

On what occasions ought an orator and statesman to be vehement? Where any of the commonwealth's main interests are in jeopardy, and he is opposed to the adversaries of the people. Those are the occasions for a generous and brave citizen. But for a person, who never sought to punish me for any offence either public or private, on the state's behalf or on his own, to have got up an accusation because I am crowned and honored, and to have expended such a multitude of words—this is a proof of personal enmity and spite and meanness, not of anything good. And then his leaving the controversy with me, and attacking the defendant, comprises everything that is base.

I should conclude, Æschines, that you undertook this cause to exhibit your eloquence and strength of lungs, not to obtain satisfaction for any wrong. But it is not the language of an orator, Æschines, that has any value, nor yet the tone of his voice, but his adopting the same views with the people, and his hating and loving the same persons that his country does. He that is thus minded will say everything with loyal intention: he that courts persons from whom the commonwealth apprehends danger to herself, rides not on the same anchorage with the people, and therefore has not the same expectation of safety. But—do you see?—I have: for my objects are the same with those of my countrymen; I have no interest separate or distinct. Is that so with you? How can it be—when immediately after the battle you went as ambassador to Philip, who was at that period the author of your country's calamities, notwithstanding that you had before persisted in refusing that office, as all men know?

And who is it that deceives the state? Surely the man who speaks not what he thinks. On whom does the crier pronounce a curse? Surely on such a man. What greater crime can an orator be charged with, than that his opinions and his language are not the same? Such is found to be your character. And yet you open your mouth, and dare to look these men in the faces! Do you think they don't know you?—or are sunk all in such slumber and oblivion, as not to remember the speeches which you delivered in the assembly, cursing and swearing that you had nothing to do with Philip, and that I brought that charge against you out of personal enmity without foundation? No sooner came the news of the battle, than your forgot all that; you acknowledged and avowed that between Philip and yourself

there subsisted a relation of hospitality and friendship—new names these for your contract of hire. For upon what plea of equality or justice could Æschines, son of Glaucothea the timbrel-player, be the friend or acquaintance of Philip? I cannot see. No! You were hired to ruin the interests of your countrymen: and yet, though you have been caught yourself in open treason, and informed against yourself after the fact, you revile and reproach me for things which you will find any man is chargeable with sooner than I.

Many great and glorious enterprises has the commonwealth, Æschines, undertaken and succeeded in through me; and she did not forget them. Here is the proof—On the election of a person to speak the funeral oration immediately after the event, you were proposed, but the people would not have you, notwithstanding your fine voice, nor Demades, though he had just made the peace, nor Hegemon, nor any other of your party—but me. And when you and Pythocles came forward in a brutal and shameful manner (O merciful Heaven!) and urged the same accusations against me which you now do, and abused me, they elected me all the more. The reason—you are not ignorant of it—yet I will tell you. The Athenians knew as well the loyalty and zeal with which I conducted their affairs, as the dishonesty of you and your party; for what you denied upon oath in our prosperity, you confessed in the misfortunes of the republic. They considered therefore, that men who got security for their politics by the public disasters had been their enemies long before, and were then avowedly such. They thought it right also, that the person who was to speak in honor of the fallen and celebrate their valor, should not have sat under the same roof or at the same table with their antagonists; that he should not revel there and

sing a pæan over the calamities of Greece in company with their murderers, and then come here and receive distinction; that he should not with his voice act the mourner of their fate, but that he should lament over them with his heart. This they perceived in themselves and in me, but not in any of you: therefore they elected me, and not you. Nor, while the people felt thus, did the fathers and brothers of the deceased, who were chosen by the people to perform their obsequies, feel differently. For having to order the funeral banquet (according to custom) at the house of the nearest relative to the deceased, they ordered it at mine. And with reason: because, though each to his own was nearer of kin than I was, none was so near to them all collectively. He that had the deepest interest in their safety and success, had upon their mournful disaster the largest share of sorrow for them all.

Read him this epitaph, which the state chose to inscribe on their monument, that you may see even by this, Æschines, what a heartless and malignant wretch you are. Read.

THE EPITAPH

These are the patriot brave, who side by side
Stood to their arms, and dash'd the foeman's pride:
Firm in their valor, prodigal of life,
Hades they chose the arbiter of strife;
That Greeks might ne'er to haughty victors bow,
Nor thraldom's yoke, nor dire oppression know;
They fought, they bled, and on their country's breast
(Such was the doom of Heaven) these warriors rest.
Gods never lack success, nor strive in vain,
But man must suffer what the fates ordain.

Do you hear, Æschines, in this very inscription, that "Gods never lack success, nor strive in vain"? Not to the statesman does it ascribe the power of giving victory

in battle, but to the gods. Wherefore then, execrable man, do you reproach me with these things? Wherefore utter such language? I pray that it may fall upon the heads of you and yours.

Many other accusations and falsehoods he urged against me, O Athenians, but one thing surprised me more than all, that, when he mentioned the late misfortunes of the country, he felt not as became a well-disposed and upright citizen, he shed no tear, experienced no such emotion: with a loud voice, exulting, and straining his throat, he imagined apparently that he was accusing me, while he was giving proof against himself, that our distresses touched him not in the same manner as the rest. A person who pretends, as he did, to care for the laws and constitution, ought at least to have this about him, that he grieves and rejoices for the same cause as the people, and not by his politics to be enlisted in the ranks of the enemy, as Æschines has plainly done, saying that I am the cause of all, and that the commonwealth has fallen into troubles through me, when it was not owing to my views or principles that you began to assist the Greeks; for, if you conceded this to me, that my influence caused you to resist the subjugation of Greece, it would be a higher honor than any that you have bestowed upon others. I myself would not make such an assertion—it would be doing you injustice—nor would you allow it, I am sure; and Æschines, if he acted honestly, would never, out of enmity to me, have disparaged and defamed the greatest of your glories.

But why do I censure him for this, when with calumny far more shocking has he assailed me? He that charges me with Philippizing—O heaven and earth!—what would he not say? By Hercules and the gods! if one had hon-

estly to inquire, discarding all expression of spite and falsehood, who the persons really are, on whom the blame of what has happened may by common consent fairly and justly be thrown, it would be found, they are persons in the various states like Æschines, not like me—persons who, while Philip's power was feeble and exceedingly small, and we were constantly warning and exhorting and giving salutary counsel, sacrificed the general interests for the sake of selfish lucre, deceiving and corrupting their respective countrymen, until they made them slaves—Daochus, Cineas, Thrasylaus, the Thessalians; Cercidas, Hieronymus, Eucampidas, the Arcadians; Myrtis, Teledamus, Mnaseas, the Argives; Euxitheus, Cleotimus, Aristæchmus, the Eleans; Neon and Thrasylochus, sons of the accursed Philiades, the Messenians; Aristratus, Epichares, the Sicyonians; Dinarchus, Demaratus, the Corinthians; Ptœodorus, Helixus, Perilaus, the Megarians; Timolaus, Theogiton, Anemœtas, the Thebans; Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Sosistratus, the Eubœans. The day will not last me to recount the names of the traitors. All these, O Athenians, are men of the same politics in their own countries as this party among you—profligates, and parasites, and miscreants, who have each of them crippled their fatherlands; toasted away their liberty, first to Philip and last to Alexander; who measure happiness by their belly and all that is base, while freedom and independence, which the Greeks of olden time regarded as the test and standard of well-being, they have annihilated.

Of this base and infamous conspiracy and profligacy—or rather, O Athenians, if I am to speak in earnest, of this betrayal of Grecian liberty—Athens is by all mankind acquitted, owing to my counsels; and I am acquitted by

you. Then do you ask me, Æschines, for what merit I claim to be honored? I will tell you. Because, while all the statesmen in Greece, beginning with yourself, have been corrupted formerly by Philip and now by Alexander, me neither opportunity, nor fair speeches, nor large promises, nor hope, nor fear, nor anything else could tempt or induce to betray aught that I considered just and beneficial to my country. Whatever I have advised my fellow-citizens, I have never advised like you men, leaning as in a balance to the side of profit: all my proceedings have been those of a soul upright, honest, and incorrupt: intrusted with affairs of greater magnitude than any of my contemporaries, I have administered them all honestly and faithfully. Therefore do I claim to be honored.

As to this fortification, for which you ridiculed me, of the wall and fosse, I regard them as deserving of thanks and praise, and so they are; but I place them nowhere near my acts of administration. Not with stones nor with bricks did I fortify Athens: nor is this the ministry on which I most pride myself. Would you view my fortifications aright, you will find arms, and states, and posts, and harbors, and galleys, and horses, and men for their defence. These are the bulwarks with which I protected Attica, as far as was possible by human wisdom; with these I fortified our territory, not the circle of Piræus or the city. Nay more; I was not beaten by Philip in estimates or preparations; far from it; but the generals and forces of the allies were overcome by his fortune. Where are the proofs of this? They are plain and evident. Consider.

What was the course becoming a loyal citizen—a states-

man serving his country with all possible forethought and zeal and fidelity? Should he not have covered Attica on the seaboard with Eubœa, on the midland frontier with Bœotia, on the Peloponnesian with the people of that confine? Should he not have provided for the conveyance of corn along a friendly coast all the way to Piræus? preserved certain places that belonged to us by sending off succors, and by advising and moving accordingly—Proconnesus, Chersonesus, Tenedos? brought others into alliance and confederacy with us—Byzantium, Abydus, Eubœa?—cut off the principal resources of the enemy, and supplied what the commonwealth was deficient in? All this has been accomplished by my decrees and measures; and whoever will examine them without prejudice, men of Athens, will find they were rightly planned and faithfully executed; that none of the proper seasons were lost or missed or thrown away by me, nothing which depended on one man's ability and prudence was neglected. But if the power of some deity or of fortune, or the worthlessness of commanders, or the wickedness of you that betrayed your countries, or all these things together, injured and eventually ruined our cause, of what is Demosthenes guilty? Had there in each of the Greek cities been one such man as I was in my station among you; or rather, had Thessaly possessed one single man, and Arcadia one, of the same sentiments as myself, none of the Greeks either beyond or within Thermopylæ would have suffered their present calamities: all would have been free and independent, living prosperously in their own countries with perfect safety and security, thankful to you and the rest of the Athenians for such manifold blessings through me.

To show you that I greatly understate my services for

fear of giving offence, here—read me this—the list of auxiliaries procured by my decrees.

[*The list of auxiliaries*]

These and the like measures, Æschines, are what become an honorable citizen (by their success—O earth and heaven!—we should have been the greatest of people incontestably, and deserved to be so: even under their failure the result is glory, and no one blames Athens or her policy; all condemn fortune that so ordered things); but never will he desert the interests of the commonwealth, nor hire himself to her adversaries, and study the enemy's advantage, instead of his country's; nor on a man who has courage to advise and propose measures worthy of the state, and resolution to persevere in them, will he cast an evil eye, and, if any one privately offends him, remember and treasure it up; no, nor keep himself in a criminal and treacherous retirement, as you so often do. There is indeed a retirement just and beneficial to the state, such as you, the bulk of my countrymen, innocently enjoy: that however is not the retirement of Æschines; far from it. Withdrawing himself from public life when he pleases (and that is often), he watches for the moment when you are tired of a constant speaker, or when some reverse of fortune has befallen you, or anything untoward has happened (and many are the casualties of human life); at such a crisis he springs up an orator, rising from his retreat like a wind; in full voice, with words and phrases collected, he rolls them out audibly and breathlessly, to no advantage or good purpose whatsoever, but to the detriment of some or other of his fellow-citizens and to the general disgrace.

Yet from this labor and diligence, Æschines, if it pro-

ceeded from an honest heart, solicitous for your country's welfare, the fruits should have been rich and noble and profitable to all—alliances of states, supplies of money, conveniences of commerce, enactment of useful laws, opposition to our declared enemies. All such things were looked for in former times; and many opportunities did the past afford for a good man and true to show himself; during which time you are nowhere to be found, neither first, second, third, fourth, fifth, nor sixth—not in any rank at all—certainly in no service by which your country was exalted. For what alliance has come to the state by your procurement? What succors, what acquisition of goodwill or credit? What embassy or agency is there of yours, by which the reputation of the country has been increased? What concern domestic, Hellenic, or foreign, of which you have had the management, has improved under it? What galleys? what ammunition? what arsenals? what repair of walls? what cavalry? What in the world are you good for? What assistance in money have you ever given, either to the rich or the poor, out of public spirit or liberality? None. But, good sir, if there is nothing of this, there is at all events zeal and loyalty. Where? when? You infamous fellow! Even at a time when all who ever spoke upon the platform gave something for the public safety, and last Aristonicus gave the sum which he had amassed to retrieve his franchise, you neither came forward nor contributed a mite—not from inability—no! for you have inherited above five talents from Philo, your wife's father, and you had a subscription of two talents from the chairmen of the Boards for what you did to cut up the navy law. But, that I may not go from one thing to another and lose sight of the question, I pass this by.

That it was not poverty prevented your contributing, already appears: it was, in fact, your anxiety to do nothing against those to whom your political life is subservient. On what occasions then do you show your spirit? When do you shine out? When aught is to be spoken against your countrymen!—then it is you are splendid in voice, perfect in memory, an admirable actor, a tragic Theocrines.

You mention the good men of olden times; and you are right so to do. Yet it is hardly fair, O Athenians, that he should get the advantage of that respect which you have for the dead, to compare and contrast me with them—me who am living among you; for what mortal is ignorant that toward the living there exists always more or less of ill will, whereas the dead are no longer hated even by an enemy? Such being human nature, am I to be tried and judged by the standard of my predecessors? Heaven forbid! It is not just or equitable, Æschines. Let me be compared with you, or any persons you like of your party who are still alive. And consider this—whether it is more honorable and better for the state, that because of the services of a former age, prodigious though they are beyond all power of expression, those of the present generation should be unrequited and spurned, or that all who give proof of their good intentions should have their share of honor and regard from the people? Yet indeed—if I must say so much—my politics and principles, if considered fairly, will be found to resemble those of the illustrious ancients, and to have had the same objects in view, while yours resemble those of their calumniators: for it is certain there were persons in those times who ran down the living, and praised people dead and gone, with a malignant purpose like yourself.

You say that I am nothing like the ancients. Are you like them, Æschines? Is your brother, or any of our speakers? I assert that none is. But pray, my good fellow (that I may give you no other name), try the living with the living and with his competitors, as you would in all cases—poets, dancers, athletes. Philammon did not, because he was inferior to Glaucus of Carystus and some other champions of a bygone age, depart uncrowned from Olympia, but, because he beat all who entered the ring against him, was crowned and proclaimed conqueror. So I ask you to compare me with the orators of the day, with yourself, with any one you like: I yield to none. When the commonwealth was at liberty to choose for her advantage, and patriotism was a matter of emulation, I showed myself a better counsellor than any, and every act of state was pursuant to my decrees and laws and negotiations: none of your party was to be seen, unless you had to do the Athenians a mischief. After that lamentable occurrence, when there was a call no longer for advisers, but for persons obedient to command, persons ready to be hired against their country and willing to flatter strangers, then all of you were in occupation, grand people with splendid equipages; I was powerless, I confess, though more attached to my countrymen than you.

Two things, men of Athens, are characteristic of a well-disposed citizen: so may I speak of myself and give the least offence:—In authority, his constant aim should be the dignity and pre-eminence of the commonwealth; in all times and circumstances his spirit should be loyal. This depends upon nature; power and might upon other things. Such a spirit, you will find, I have ever sincerely cherished. Only see. When my person was demanded—

when they brought Amphictyonic suits against me—when they menaced—when they promised—when they set these miscreants like wild beasts upon me—never in any way have I abandoned my affection for you. From the very beginning I chose an honest and straightforward course in politics, to support the honor, the power, the glory of my fatherland, these to exalt, in these to have my being. I do not walk about the marketplace gay and cheerful because the stranger has prospered, holding out my right hand and congratulating those who I think will report it yonder, and on any news of our own success shudder and groan and stoop to the earth, like these impious men, who rail at Athens, as if in so doing they did not rail at themselves; who look abroad, and if the foreigner thrives by the distresses of Greece, are thankful for it, and say we should keep him so thriving to all time.

Never, O ye gods, may those wishes be confirmed by you! If possible, inspire even in these men a better sense and feeling! But if they are, indeed, incurable, destroy them by themselves; exterminate them on land and sea; and for the rest of us, grant that we may speedily be released from our present fears, and enjoy a lasting deliverance.

ORATION ON THE EMBASSY

IN THIS ORATION DEMOSTHENES CHARGES ÆSCHINES WITH CORRUPT CONDUCT IN AN EMBASSY TO PHILIP OF MACEDON

OF THE intrigue and canvassing which there has been about this trial, men of Athens, I imagine you are all aware, having seen what a throng assailed you at the ballot just now. I shall only ask at your hands—what those who don't ask it are entitled to—that you will value no person and no one's favor more highly than justice and the oath which each juror has sworn, remembering that this is for the good of yourselves and the community; whereas all this intrigue and importunity of partisans is to get advantages for some persons over the rest, which the laws assemble you here to prevent, not to secure for the benefit of the unjust.

Other men, who enter honestly upon the service of the public, even after their audit, I see, profess a continued responsibility: Æschines does the very reverse; for before he appeared in court to give a reckoning of his actions, one of the persons who came to demand it he has removed out of the way; others he goes about threatening, and thus introduces into the commonwealth a practice most flagitious and injurious to you; for if a man who has discharged or administered any public office can by intimidation, and not by honesty, keep people from accusing him, you will be deprived of all authority.

That I shall prove the defendant to be guilty of many

grave misdemeanors, and to merit the severest punishment, I am confident and persuaded: what, notwithstanding such conviction, I am afraid of, I will tell you without disguise. It appears to me, O Athenians, that all the causes which come before you depend on the time of bringing them as much as upon the merits, and I fear the length of time since the embassy may have caused you to forget or become reconciled to your wrongs. Yet, even under these circumstances, you may, I think, arrive at a correct judgment and decision: I will tell you how. You must consider among yourselves, men of the jury, and reflect for what things the commonwealth should receive an account from an ambassador. First it should be on the subject of his reports; secondly, of his counsels; thirdly, of your instructions to him; next, as to the circumstances of time; and after all, whether in each of these points he has acted incorruptly or not. Why these inquiries? Because, from his reports you have to deliberate on your course of action; if they are true, you determine rightly, if not so, otherwise. The advice of ambassadors you give more credit to, because you listen to them as to men who understand what they were sent about: never then ought an ambassador to be convicted of giving bad or mischievous advice. And of course, whatever you instructed him either to do or say, whatever commission you expressly gave him, it is his duty to have executed. But why the account of time? Because it often happens, men of Athens, that the season for many important measures falls in a short space, and if it be sacrificed and betrayed to the enemy, do what you will, it cannot be recalled. As to the absence of corrupt motive—I am sure you will all agree, that to take reward for acts which

injure the commonwealth is shocking and abominable. The legislator indeed does not define it so, but absolutely forbids the taking of bribes in any way, considering, as it appears to me, that a person who is once bribed and corrupted ceases to be even a safe judge of what is useful for the state. If then I shall prove and demonstrate clearly, that Æschines the defendant has reported what was untrue, and prevented the people hearing the truth from me—that he has given advice totally opposed to your interests, and fulfilled none of your instructions on the embassy—that he has wasted time in which many important opportunities have been lost to the commonwealth—and that for all this he has received presents and wages in conjunction with Philocrates—convict him, punish him as his crimes deserve: if I prove not these statements, or not all of them, look with contempt on me, and acquit the defendant.

Many grievous things can I lay to his charge besides those which I have mentioned, O Athenians—enough to make every one detest him—but before I enter upon other topics, I will remind you (though nearly all indeed must remember) what character Æschines first assumed in politics, and what language he thought proper to address to the people against Philip, that you may see, his own early acts and speeches will most surely convict him of taking bribes.

He is the first Athenian (as he declared in his speech) who discovered that Philip was plotting against the Greeks, and corrupting certain of the leading men in Arcadia. He it is who, having Ischander, son of Neoptolemus, to play second part to him, applied to the council on this matter, and also to the people, and persuaded you to send ambassadors everywhere to assemble a congress at Athens for

consulting about war with Philip; who afterward, on his return from Arcadia, reported those fine long speeches, which he said he had delivered on your behalf before the ten thousand at Megalopolis, in answer to Philip's advocate Hieronymus, and dwelt on the enormous injury done, not only to their own countries, but to the whole of Greece, by the men who took presents and money from Philip. Such being his politics then, such the specimen which he had given of himself, when Aristodemus, Neoptolemus, Ctesiphon, and the rest, who brought reports from Macedonia without a word of truth, prevailed on you to send ambassadors to Philip for peace, this man is put into the embassy, not as one of a party who would sell your interests, not as one of those who trusted Philip, but as one who would help to watch the others; for, on account of his former speeches and hostility to Philip, you all naturally held that opinion of him. He came then to me, and arranged that we should act in the embassy together; and strongly urged that we should both watch that impudent profligate Philocrates. And until his return home from the first embassy, men of Athens, I certainly never discovered that he was corrupted and had sold himself; for, besides the speeches which, as I said, he had made before, he rose in the first of the assemblies in which you debated on the peace, and began—I think I can repeat his opening to you in the very same words which he used—"Had Philocrates been meditating ever so long, men of Athens, upon the best means of opposing the peace, he could not, methinks, have found a better way than a motion like the present. Never will I, while a single Athenian is left, advise the commonwealth to make a peace like this: peace, however, I do advise"—and to such

purport briefly and fairly he expressed himself. Yet the same man who had thus spoken on the first day in the hearing of you all, on the next, when the peace was to be ratified, when I supported the resolution of our allies, and exerted myself to make the peace equitable and just, and you were of my opinion, and would not even hear the voice of the despicable Philocrates—he then got up and addressed the people in support of Philocrates, and said what (O heavens!) deserved a thousand deaths—that you ought not to remember your ancestors, nor put up with persons who talked about trophies and sea-fights, and that he would propose and pass a law to prevent your succoring any Greeks who had not previously succored you. All which this impudent wretch dared to utter in the presence and hearing of the ambassadors, whom you sent for out of Greece at his persuasion before he had sold himself.

How he wasted the time, O Athenians, after you had appointed him again to receive the oaths; how he ruined all the affairs of the commonwealth, and quarrelled with me about it when I sought to prevent him, you shall hear presently. But when we had returned from that embassy for the oaths, which is the subject of your present inquiry —we not having obtained a particle, great or small, of what was promised and expected when you made the peace, but having been cheated in everything, and these men having a second time outstepped their duty as ambassadors, and neglected your orders—we went before the council. What I am about to say is known to many people; for the council-hall was full of strangers. I came forward and reported the whole truth to the council, and accused these men, and reckoned everything up, begin-

ning with those first hopes which Ctesiphon and Aristodemus brought you, showing what speeches Æschines had made at the time of your concluding peace, and into what position they had brought the commonwealth; and as to what remained, that is, the Phocians and Thermopylæ, I advised that we should not sacrifice them and repeat our errors, not keep hanging on hopes and promises, till we let things come to an extremity. And so I persuaded the council. But when the assembly came, and we had to address you, Æschines advanced before any of us: and do, I entreat you, try and recollect, as I go on, whether I am telling the truth; for what marred and utterly ruined all our affairs is just this. From any report of our proceedings on the embassy, from any mention of what was said in the council, whether or no he disputed the truth of my statements, he altogether abstained; but told a tale promising such mighty advantages that he carried you all away with him. He said that he had brought Philip entirely over to the interests of Athens, both on Amphictyonic questions and all others; and he went through a long speech, which he said he had addressed to Philip against the Thebans, and repeated to you the heads, and computed that in two or three days (thanks to his own diplomacy) you would hear, without leaving home or having any field-service or trouble, that Thebes, alone and separately from the rest of Bœotia, was besieged, that Thespiæ and Platæa were having their people restored, and the treasures of the god were demanded not from the Phocians, but from the Thebans, who had formed the design of seizing his temple; for he had taught Philip, he said, that those who designed were guilty of as much impiety as those who executed; and on that account the

Thebans had set a price upon his head. He declared further he had heard some of the Eubœans, who were frightened and alarmed at the connection of our state with Philip, say to the ambassadors, "We are not unaware of the terms on which you have concluded peace with Philip; we are not ignorant, that you have given Amphipolis to him, and Philip has agreed to surrender Eubœa to you": there was indeed another thing which he had arranged, but he would not mention it yet a while; for some of his colleagues were jealous of him—hinting in obscure words at Oropus. Exalted in your opinion by this plausible tale, judged to be a consummate orator and a wonderful man, he quitted the platform with much solemnity. I rose, and declared that I knew none of those things, and was proceeding to tell what I had reported to the council; but the defendant standing up on one side, and Philocrates on the other, shouted and clamored me down, and at last mocked me. You laughed, and would neither hear nor believe anything but what Æschines had reported. And, by the gods! I think your behavior was not unnatural; for who could have endured, with such splendid prospects of advantage, to hear any one say they were delusive, or arraign what these men had done? Everything else, I fancy, at that time was secondary to the hopes and prospects before you; opposition looked like spite and annoyance merely; the results achieved for the country were so marvellously advantageous, as it seemed.

Why have I begun by reminding you of these things, and going over these speeches? Chiefly and principally, men of Athens, for this reason, that when you hear me speak of any proceeding, and it appears outrageously bad, you may not cry in astonishment, "Why didn't you speak

at the moment, and inform us?" but remembering the promises of these men, by means of which on every occasion they prevented others from being heard, and also that specious announcement of Æschines, you may see that he has injured you in this way among others, because you were not suffered to learn the truth at the instant when it was needful, but cheated by hopes and impostures and promises. Such was the chief and principal cause of my entering into these details. What was the second? One of no less importance; that, while you remember his political principles before he was corrupted —how wary, how mistrustful he was of Philip—you may observe his sudden conversion to confidence and friendship; and if his reports to you have been verified, and the results are all right, you may hold his conversion to have been honest and for the country's good; but if the events have all been contrary to what he said, and are fraught with deep disgrace and grievous peril to the country, you may see that he has changed from sordid avarice and bartering of the truth for money.

As I have been led into these topics, I would take the earliest opportunity of mentioning how they took the Phocian business out of your hands. And you must not suppose, men of the jury, when you look at the magnitude of that affair, that the crimes and charges imputed to Æschines are too great for his character, but consider that any person whom you had placed in that position and made the arbiter of events, had he sold himself, like Æschines, for the purpose of cheating and deceiving you, would have wrought the same mischief as Æschines. It is not because you often put mean persons in public employments that the affairs which other people deem our

state worthy to administer are mean; quite otherwise. And, again—Philip, I grant, has destroyed the Phocians; but these men helped him: and we must look and see whether such chance of saving the Phocians as depended on the embassy was sacrificed and lost by the treachery of these men; not that Æschines destroyed the Phocians by himself—how could he?

Give me the resolution which the council passed on my report, and the deposition of the person who drew it up—to show you, I am not repudiating acts which I was silent about before, for I denounced them immediately, and foresaw the consequences; and the council, who were not prevented hearing the truth from me, would neither vote thanks to these men, nor invite them to the city hall. Such an indignity is not known to have befallen any ambassadors since the foundation of the city, not even Timagoras, whom the people condemned to death; yet it has been suffered by these men.

Read them first the evidence, and then the resolution.

[*The evidence*]

[*The resolution of the council*]

Here is no vote of thanks, no invitation of the ambassadors by the council to the city hall. If Æschines says there is, let him show and produce it, and I will sit down. But there is none. I allow, if we all acted alike in the embassy, the council did right in thanking none of us; for the conduct of all was truly shameful: but if some of us acted uprightly and some not, through the rogues, it would seem, honest men have come in for a share of the disgrace. How, then, may you easily distinguish who is the knave? Recollect among yourselves who it is that

denounced the proceedings from the beginning: for it is clear that the guilty party was content to be silent, to elude the present time, and never afterward submit his conduct to inquiry; while to a man conscious of nothing wrong it occurred that possibly by holding his tongue he might seem to be an accomplice in misdemeanor and crime. Well, then, I am the person who accused these men from the beginning; none of them accused me.

The council had passed their resolution. The assembly was convened, and Philip already at Thermopylæ. This, indeed, was their prime offence, that they gave the conduct of such an affair to Philip, and when the proper course was that you should have information, and then deliberate, and afterward execute what you determined, you received intelligence only at the moment of his arrival, and it was difficult even to advise what should be done. And, besides, no one ever read to the people that resolution of the council; the people never heard it; but Æschines got up and harangued as I have just told you, stating what immense advantages he had persuaded Philip to grant, and that the Thebans on that account had set a price upon his head; at which you, though terrified at first by Philip's arrival, and angry with these men for having given no warning, became as gentle as possible, in the expectation of getting all that you desired, and would not suffer me or any one else to speak. And then was read Philip's letter, which Æschines wrote without our privity, and which is in terms a plain and direct apology for these men's faults. For it states that he hindered them from going to the cities as they wished and receiving the oaths, and that he kept them to assist him as mediators between the Halians and Pharsalians; and he adopts and takes upon himself all their

delinquencies: but as to the Phocians or Thespians, or the defendant's reports to you, there is not a syllable. And it was not done in this way by accident: but where you ought to have punished these men for non-performance and neglect of your positive instructions, Philip takes the blame off their shoulders, and says that he himself was in fault, because (as I imagine) you were not likely to punish him: where he desired to cheat and surprise us out of some advantage, Æschines made the report, that you might have no charge or complaint against Philip afterward, the statements not being in a letter or any other communication of his. Read them the letter itself, which this man wrote and Philip sent. You will see, it is just as I explained. Read.

[*The letter*]

You hear the letter, O Athenians—how fair and friendly it is. About the Phocians, however, or the Thebans, or the other matters which this man reported, there is not a word: and, therefore, there is nothing honest in it, as you shall see directly. He kept them, as he says, to help him in making up the quarrel of the Halians: but a pretty making-up the Halians have got—they have been outcast, and their city has been razed to the ground. As to the prisoners, this man who was considering what he could do to oblige you says he never thought of ransoming them: but it has often, as you know, been testified before the assembly that I went with a talent to redeem them, and it shall be testified now: therefore, to deprive me of the credit of a generous act, Æschines persuaded him to insert this. But here is the most important thing:—He that wrote in the first letter which we brought—"I should have ex

pressly mentioned what benefits I had in store for you, had I been sure of the alliance also''—after the alliance had been concluded says, he knows not what he can do to oblige you; he knows not even his own promise! Of course he knew that if he was not playing false! To prove that he wrote so at first—here, read the passage out of the letter—begin here—read.

[*The passage from the letter*]

You see, before he obtained peace, he promised, if alliance also was granted him, he would write and say what benefits he had in store for you. Now that both have been granted him, he says he knows not what he can do to oblige you, but, if you will tell him, he will do anything that is not disgraceful or dishonorable; having recourse to these pretences, and (should you mention anything and be induced to make a proposal) leaving himself an escape.

These and many other tricks one might then instantly have exposed, and enlightened you on the subject, and not permitted you to abandon everything, had not Thespiæ and Platæa and the expectation of immediate punishment being inflicted on Thebes blinded you to the truth. If these things were merely to be heard, and the commonwealth to be deluded, it was proper enough to tell you of them: but if they were really to be performed they should not have been talked about. For if matters had gone so far that the Thebans, even discovering the design, could not have helped themselves, why has it not been executed? If they discovered it in time to prevent the execution, who let out the secret? Was it not Æschines? But no—he never had any such meaning or intention, and

Æschines never expected it: so I acquit him entirely of letting the secret out. The fact is—it was necessary that you should be amused by these statements, and refuse to hear the truth from me, and that you should yourselves remain at home, and a decree pass by which the Phocians would be destroyed. Therefore were these statements fabricated, and therefore publicly announced.

I, when I heard the defendant making such magnificent promises, being quite certain of their falsehood—and I will tell you why: first, because when Philip was about to swear the oath of peace, the Phocians were by these men expressly excluded from the treaty, a thing they should have been quite silent about, if the Phocians were to be saved—secondly, because Philip's ambassadors used no such language, nor Philip's letter, but only the defendant. Making my conjectures accordingly, I got up to speak, and attempted to answer him; but, as you refused to hear me, I held my tongue, protesting only—I pray and entreat you to recollect—that I had no knowledge of these things, that I had no concern in them, and, what was more, I did not expect them. At this (the not expecting) you fired up. "Athenians," I said, "if any of this comes true, be sure you praise and honor and crown these men, and not me; but if it turns out differently, let them feel your resentment. I am out of it altogether." "Don't be out of it now," said Æschines, interrupting—"Mind you don't want to be in it another time." "Certainly," said I, "or I should be acting unfairly"; at which Philocrates rose in a flippant manner and said, "No wonder, men of Athens, that I and Demosthenes agree not in opinion; for he drinks water, and I drink wine"—and you laughed.

Read the decree, which Philocrates presented afterward,

of his own drawing. It is very well just to hear: but when one takes into account the occasion on which it was prepared, and the promises which the defendant then made, it will appear they plainly delivered up the Phocians to Philip and the Thebans, all but tying their hands behind them. Read the decree.

[*The decree*]

You see, men of Athens, how full the decree is of fair and flattering words; that it extends the peace with Philip to his descendants, and the alliance, and awards praise to Philip for offering to do what was just. But Philip offered nothing at all—so far from offering, he says he knows not what he can do to oblige you: it was the defendant that spoke and promised in his name. Philocrates, seeing you jump at the defendant's promise, inserts in the decree that, unless the Phocians did what was right and gave up the temple to the Amphictyons, the Athenian people would send forces against those who resisted. So, men of Athens, as you were staying at home and had never been out, as the Lacedæmonians seeing the artifice had withdrawn, and no other Amphictyons were present besides Thessalians and Thebans, he has proposed in the blandest possible language to deliver up the temple to them, proposing (as he does) to deliver it up to the Amphictyons—what Amphictyons? for none were there but Thebans and Thessalians—not that you should convoke the Amphictyonic body, or wait till they assembled; not that Proxenus should carry succor to the Phocians, or that the Athenians should take the field, or anything of the kind. Philip, however, twice summoned you by letter—not to induce you to march, most assuredly: or he would never have

destroyed your opportunities of marching and summoned you then; he would not have prevented my sailing home when I desired it, or ordered Æschines to make statements calculated to stop your march: no—it was that you, under the belief that he would do all you desired, might vote nothing against him; that the Phocians might not be encouraged by hopes from you to hold out and resist, but might in utter despair surrender themselves into his hands. Read Philip's letters, and let them speak for themselves.

[*The letters*]

You see, the letters summon you, and verily for the first time: but these men—had there been anything honest about it—ought surely to have pressed for your going out, and moved that Proxenus, whom they knew to be in the neighborhood, should immediately carry succor. Yet it appears they have done just the contrary: and no wonder. They heeded not his epistles, for they understood his intentions in writing them: those intentions they seconded and strove to forward.

The Phocians, when they learned your views from the assembly, and received this decree of Philocrates, and heard the defendant's report and his promises, were in every way undone. Consider only. There were some intelligent persons there who distrusted Philip: they were induced to put faith in him—why?—because they supposed that, if Philip deceived them ten times over, he would at all events not dare to deceive the Athenian envoys, but that the defendant's reports to you were correct, and destruction menaced the Thebans, not themselves. There were others inclined to resist at any price: but even their zeal was slackened by the persuasion that

Philip was on their side, and that, if they refused compliance, you would attack them, you from whom they had expected succor. Some, however, believed that you repented having made peace with Philip: to these they showed that you had voted the same peace with his posterity, so that all hope from you must have been despaired of. Therefore they got all this into one decree. And here, in my opinion, have they done you the most grievous wrong. In drawing a treaty of peace with a mortal man raised to power by certain accidents, to have covenanted for an immortality of disgrace to the commonwealth!—to have deprived her not merely of other things, but also of the chances of fortune!—to have been so wantonly wicked as to injure not only the existing Athenians, but all hereafter to come in being!—is not this most dreadful? Never afterward would you have consented to add to the treaty this clause, "and to his posterity," had you not relied on the promises announced by Æschines. On these the Phocians relied, and were ruined: for, after they had surrendered to Philip and put their cities into his hands, they met with treatment the very opposite of what he assured them.

To convince you that all has been lost in this manner and through these men, I will compute to you the dates of the several transactions. Whoever disputes any of these particulars may get up and speak while my water is running. The peace was concluded on the nineteenth of Elaphebolion, and we were away to receive the oaths three whole months; and during all that time the Phocians were safe. We returned from the embassy for the oaths on the thirteenth of the month Scirophorion, and Philip was by that time at Thermopylæ, and making promises to the

Phocians, of which they believed not a single word. The proof is this;—they would not otherwise have come here to you. The assembly, in which these men ruined all by their false and delusive statements to you, was held afterward, on the sixteenth of Scirophorion. On the fifth day after that, as I reckon, intelligence of your proceedings reached the Phocians; for the Phocian envoys were here, and it much concerned them to know what these men would report, and what resolution you would pass. I reckon, then, it was on the twentieth that the Phocians heard of your proceedings, for that is the fifth day from the sixteenth. Then comes the twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third: on this the convention took place, and it was all over with Phocis. How does this appear? On the twenty-seventh you were assembled in Piræus on the business of the arsenal, and Dercylus came from Chalcis, and reported to you that Philip had put everything into the hands of the Thebans; and he computed it to be the fifth day from the convention. Twenty-three, twenty-four, twenty-five, twenty-six, twenty-seven—that makes it exactly the fifth. So, you see, by the date of their report, by the date of their motion, by all the dates, are they convicted of having acted in concert with Philip, and assisted in the destruction of the Phocians.

Again, the circumstance that not a city of the Phocians was taken by storm or blockade, but that they were utterly destroyed by the convention, is a decisive proof that they suffered because these men had persuaded them that they would be saved by Philip. For of his character they were certainly not ignorant. Give me the treaty of alliance with the Phocians, and the decrees under which they dismantled the fortifications—to show you in what relation

you stood to them, and how they were treated notwithstanding through these accursed men. Read.

[*The treaty of alliance between the Athenians and the Phocians*]

That is what they had to expect from you—friendship, alliance, succor. Now hear what treatment they got through this man who prevented your succoring them. Read.

[*The convention between Philip and the Phocians*]

You hear, O Athenians. A convention between Philip and the Phocians, it says, not between the Thebans and Phocians, nor Thessalians and Phocians, nor Locrians, nor any other of the people present. And again it says, that the Phocians shall deliver up these cities to Philip; not to the Thebans, nor the Thessalians, nor any other people. Why? Because this man reported to you that Philip had come to save the Phocians. To him they trusted for all; to him they looked for all; with him they concluded peace. Now for the rest. Look what they trusted to, and what they got. Anything like was it or similar to this man's assurance? Read.

[*The decree of the Amphictyons*]

Results more awful and momentous, O Athenians, have not been wrought in Greece within our time, nor I should think in any time heretofore. Yet such mighty results has Philip singly been able to accomplish during the existence of the Athenian commonwealth, whose hereditary privilege it is to take the lead in Greece, and not permit any proceeding of this kind.

The ruin which has fallen on the poor Phocians may be

seen not only by these decrees, but by what has actually been done—a shocking and pitiable spectacle, O Athenians! On our late journey to Delphi we were forced to see it all—houses razed to the ground, walls demolished, a country stripped of its adult population, a few women and little children and miserable old men. No language can come up to the wretchedness now existing there. I hear you all say, that once this people gave the opposite vote to the Thebans on the question of enslaving us. How think ye then, O Athenians?—could your ancestors return to life, what vote or judgment would they pass upon the authors of this destruction? In my opinion, though they stoned them with their own hands, they would consider themselves pure. For is it not disgraceful—is it not, if possible, worse than disgraceful—that people who had then saved us, who gave the vote for our preservation, should have met with an opposite return through these men, and been suffered to incur greater misfortunes than any Greeks ever knew? Who then is the author of them? Who was the deceiver? Æschines—who but he?

For many things, men of Athens, might one felicitate Philip on his fortune, but for one thing with the greatest justice—one piece of luck which (by the gods and goddesses!) I don't think has fallen to any other man in our time. To have taken great cities and subdued a large territory, these and the like feats are wonderful, I allow, and splendid—how can they help being? Yet they have been achieved, it may be said, by many others. This, however, is a peculiar good fortune which has occurred to no other mortal—what?—That, when he wanted base men for his purposes, he found baser than he desired. Can we avoid holding such an opinion of these men, when

falsehoods which Philip dared not utter in his own behalf, notwithstanding their importance to him—which he neither wrote in any letter nor commissioned any ambassador to state—they lent themselves to for hire, and deceived you by them? Antipater and Parmenio, who were serving a master, and not likely to encounter you afterward, contrived not to be the instruments of your deception: yet ambassadors appointed by the Athenian state, the freest in the world, had the hardiness to deceive you—you whom they were certain to look upon face to face, and to pass the remainder of their lives with, and before whom they would have to render an account of their conduct. Could any men be more wicked or abandoned?

To show that he is devoted by you to execration, that after such falsehoods you could not with any regard to sanctity or religion acquit him—recite the curse—read it from the law here.

[*The curse*]

This imprecation, men of Athens, the crier pronounces on your behalf according to law in every assembly, and also before the council when it sits. Æschines can't say that he was not well acquainted with it: for, as your clerk and servant to the council, he himself dictated this law to the crier. Would it not be a strange and monstrous proceeding, if what you enjoin, or rather request the gods to do in your behalf, you should fail to do yourselves when it is in your power to-day, and acquit a man whom you implore the gods to extirpate with his house and family? Don't think of such a thing. When a man escapes you, leave the gods to punish him: when you catch him yourselves, trouble them about him no more.

So far will he carry his impudence and audacity, I am told, that, leaving the facts of the case, his reports, his promises, his impostures upon the state, as if he were tried before some other people, and not before you who know it all, he will accuse first the Lacedæmonians, then the Phocians, then Hegesippus. But this is mockery, or rather abominable effrontery. For, whatever he may say now about the Phocians or the Lacedæmonians or Hegesippus —that they would not receive Proxenus, that they are guilty of impiety, or anything else against them—surely it had all taken place before these ambassadors returned, and was no obstacle to the Phocians being saved, as is said — by whom? — by Æschines, the defendant, himself. For he did not then report, that but for the Lacedæmonians, or but for their not receiving Proxenus, or but for Hegesippus, or but for this thing and the other, the Phocians would have been saved—No: he passed over all that, and said expressly that he had prevailed on Philip to save the Phocians, to repeople Bœotia, to arrange things to your advantage; that it would all be accomplished in two or three days, and on that account the Thebans had set a price upon his head. Therefore, if he talks about what the Lacedæmonians or what the Phocians had done before he made these reports, don't listen to him nor hear a word; and don't suffer him to make charges of immorality against the Phocians. It was not for their merit that you rescued the Lacedæmonians formerly, or these accursed Eubœans, or many others, but because their safety was for the interest of the commonwealth, as that of the Phocians was lately. And what fault did the Phocians or the Lacedæmonians or yourselves or any other people commit after this man's statements, to cause the miscarriage of what he

then told you? Ask him this: he won't be able to explain. There have been but five days in which he made his false report, you believed him, the Phocians got the news, yielded themselves up, and perished. From this, I imagine, it appears clearly, that the whole fraud and artifice was contrived for the purpose of destroying the Phocians. For in the interval after the peace, while Philip was unable to march, but was making preparations, he sent for the Lacedæmonians, and promised to do everything for them, that the Phocians might not get them for auxiliaries through you. But when he arrived at Thermopylæ, and the Lacedæmonians, perceiving the snare, withdrew, he then put this man forward to deceive you; for he feared, if you discovered that he was acting for the Thebans, he might get into war and delay and embarrassment, by the Phocians defending themselves and your assisting them, and he wished rather to complete his conquest without a struggle; which indeed has been the case. Don't then, because Philip deceived the Lacedæmonians and the Phocians also, let this man escape punishment for his deception of you. That would hardly be just.

If, to compensate for the Phocians and Thermopylæ and the rest of our losses, he alleges that the Chersonese is preserved to us, by heavens! men of the jury, don't admit the excuse; don't endure that, in addition to the injuries which you have sustained by the embassy, he should by his defence cast reproach upon the state, as if you made a reservation for certain of your own possessions, while you sacrificed the welfare of your allies. You did no such thing: for, after the peace was made and the Chersonese was in security, the Phocians were safe during the four ensuing months, and the falsehoods of this man

afterward, by imposing on you, caused their ruin. Besides, you will find the Chersonese is in greater danger now than it was then. For let me ask, would it have been easier to punish Philip for attacking it before he had snatched any of these advantages from us, or is it easier now? I imagine it was much easier before. What sort of preservation then is it for the Chersonese, when he that would violate it is released from fear and danger?

I understand, however, that he intends to say something of this kind—that he wonders how it is Demosthenes accuses him, and not any of the Phocians. It is better you should hear the explanation from me beforehand. Among the expatriated Phocians, the best and most respectable being in exile and consequent distress keep themselves quiet, and none of them would like to incur private hostility on account of the public misfortunes; while those who would do anything for money can find no one to give it them. I certainly would not have feed any of them, to stand up for me here and cry out what they had suffered: for the truth and the facts cry out of themselves. As to the Phocian commonalty, they are in such a wretched and deplorable condition that they have no thought of being prosecutors at Athenian audits, but are every one of them slaves, frightened to death at the Thebans and the mercenaries of Philip, whom they are forced to maintain, scattered themselves over villages, and deprived of their arms. Don't allow him then to use that argument, but make him show that the Phocians have not been ruined, or that he never promised that Philip would save them. These are the questions at the account of an embassy—What has been negotiated? what was your report? If true, take your acquittal; if false, pay the penalty. What matters

it whether the Phocians are present or not? They are in such a plight, I fancy—and you did your best to bring them into it—they can neither help their friends nor punish their enemies.

But besides the general discredit and disgrace which these proceedings are attended with, it is easy to show that serious perils consequently menace the state. For which of you is ignorant that by the Phocian war, and the Phocians being masters of Thermopylæ, we were out of all apprehension from the Thebans; never could they or Philip make their way to Peloponnesus, nor to Eubœa, nor Attica? This security, which place and circumstances guaranteed to the commonwealth, you, trusting to the falsehoods and artifices of these men, abandoned: fortified though it was by arms, by continued war, by great cities of an allied people, and by an extensive territory, you suffered it to be overthrown. And your former expedition to Thermopylæ has become fruitless, which cost you more than two hundred talents, reckoning the private expenses of those who served. Your hopes about the Thebans are fruitless also. But what, among many shameful services which this man has performed for Philip, involves really the most contemptuous treatment of the commonwealth, and all of you, I beg you to hear—it is this: that Philip having determined from the beginning to do all that he has done for the Thebans, Æschines, by reporting the contrary, and making it manifest that you were against what he did, has increased your enmity with the Thebans and their friendliness to Philip. How could a man have treated you more contumeliously?

Take and read the decree of Diophantus, and that of Callisthenes, to show you that when you performed your

duties, you were recompensed with thanksgivings and praise both at Athens and elsewhere, but after you had been deluded by these men, you brought in your women and children from the country, and decreed to perform the Heraclean sacrifice within the city in time of peace: which makes me wonder whether you will let off with impunity a man who caused even the gods to be deprived of their customary worship. Read the decree.

[*The decree*]

Thus worthily of your conduct, O Athenians, you voted then. Now read the next.

[*The decree*]

Such was the vote you then passed through the conduct of these men; though it was not with such prospects that you either originally concluded peace and alliance, or were afterward persuaded to insert the clause, "and to his posterity," but under the belief that through these men you would get marvellous benefits. You all know how often afterward you were alarmed by hearing of Philip's army and mercenaries in the neighborhood of Porthmus or Megara. Therefore, though he may not yet have invaded Attic ground, it is not that you must look at, nor relax in your vigilance: you must see whether he has through these men got the opportunity of doing it when he pleases; this peril you must keep in view, and abhor and punish the guilty person who has furnished him with such opportunity.

I know indeed that Æschines will avoid all discussion of the charges against him; that, seeking to withdraw you as far as possible from the facts, he will rehearse what mighty blessings accrue to mankind from peace, and, on

the other hand, what evils from war; in short, he will pronounce a panegyric on peace, and take up that line of defence. Yet even these are so many arguments to convict him. For if the cause of blessings to others has been the cause of so many troubles and such confusion to us, what else can one suppose, but that by taking bribes these men have spoiled a thing in its own nature excellent?

Oh, but—he may say perhaps—have you not preserved, and won't you preserve through the peace three hundred galleys, with stores for them and money?—In regard to this you must understand that Philip's resources likewise have been largely augmented through the peace, in supplies of arms, in territory, in revenues, of which he has gained an abundance. True, some have come in to us also. But that establishment of power and alliances, through which people hold their good things either for themselves or their superiors—ours has been sold by these men, and gone to ruin and decay; his hath become formidable and mightier by far. It is not just, that Philip should through these men have augmented both his alliances and his revenues, while what Athens must naturally have gained by the peace they set off against what was sold by themselves. The one has not come to us in exchange for the other—very far from it: one we should equally have had, and the other in addition, but for these men.

Speaking generally, men of Athens, I presume you will agree that on the one hand, however many and grievous have been the misfortunes of the commonwealth, if Æschines be not to blame for any, your resentment ought not to fall upon him; and, on the other hand, if any ad-

vantages have been achieved through others, they ought not to save him. Consider what the defendant has been the cause of; look favorably on him, if favor he deserves, but with anger, if he has done aught to excite it. How will you ascertain the truth of the matter? In this way—you must not let him confound all things together—the misdeeds of the generals, the war with Philip, the blessings of peace—but you must consider each point by itself. For example—Was Philip at war with us? He was. Does any man complain of Æschines on that account? Would any man wish to arraign him for the transactions of the war? No man. Well then; upon those points he is acquitted, and has no need to say anything: for it is a defendant's business to produce witnesses and proofs upon the matters in issue, not to mystify the court by pleading what no one disputes. Mind then, that you say nothing about the war; for no one charges you with anything concerning it. Afterward certain persons advised us to make peace; we followed their advice; we sent ambassadors; they brought people to Athens to conclude peace. Here again, does any one blame Æschines for this? No one. Does any man say that he introduced the question of peace, or is guilty of crime for having brought people here to conclude it? No man. No more should he say anything about the fact of our concluding peace: for he is not chargeable with it.

What, then, do you say, man?—suppose I were asked —from what point do you commence your accusation? From this, men of Athens—when, at the time you were deliberating, not whether you should make peace or no (for that had already been resolved upon), but what sort of a peace you should have, he opposed the men who of-

fered honest advice, and supported the mover of a corrupt resolution, himself being bribed; and afterward, on being chosen to receive the oaths, he entirely neglected your instructions, destroyed those allies who had come safe through the whole war, and told such huge falsehoods as no mortal ever did either before or after. At first, indeed, until Philip got leave to negotiate for peace, Ctesiphon and Aristodemus commenced the beginning of the plot; but when things were ripe for execution, they handed it over to Philocrates and the defendant, who took up the matter and ruined everything. Now that he must render an account of what has been done, and stand his trial for it, the defendant, I imagine, like a rascally and abominable clerk as he is, will plead his defence as if he were tried for the peace—not that he may render an account of more than he is accused of; that were madness—but he sees that in his own conduct there is nothing good and everything criminal, while a defence of peace, if it have nothing else about it, has in name at least a show of humanity. I fear, indeed, O Athenians, I fear that without knowing it, like persons who borrow money, we are enjoying the peace at a high rate: for these men betrayed what constituted its strength and security, the Phocians and Thermopylæ. However, it was not through the defendant we originally made it: for what I am about to say is strange, yet perfectly true—if any one is really glad of the peace, let him thank the generals for it, whom all accuse. Had they carried on the war as you desired, the very name of peace would have been intolerable to you. Peace, therefore, is owing to them: perilous and unstable and insecure has it become through these men having taken bribes. Bar him then, bar him from any argument

in favor of peace, and put him to his defence for what he has done. For Æschines is not tried for the peace; no: the peace is discredited through Æschines. Here is the proof—if the peace had been concluded without any deception being afterward practiced on you, or any of your allies being ruined, what mortal would the peace have aggrieved, independently of its being dishonorable? Of this, indeed, the defendant was in part the cause, by supporting Philocrates: nothing fatal, however, would have taken place. Now, I conceive, he is answerable for a great deal.

That these men have shamefully and basely wrought all this ruin and mischief, I suppose you are all satisfied. I, however, men of the jury, am so far from entering upon these questions in a vexatious spirit, or wishing you to do so, that if it has all been brought about through thoughtlessness or good nature or any kind of ignorance, I acquit Æschines myself and I advise you also. Though, indeed, none of these excuses is constitutional or just, for no one is required or compelled by you to perform public business; but when a man has persuaded himself of his ability and applies for it, you, acting the part of worthy and benevolent people, receive him with favor and without envy; you elect him, and put your affairs into his hands. Then, if a man be successful, he will be honored and have an advantage over the bulk of the people in this respect; if he fails, shall he set up excuses and apologies? That would not be fair. It would be no satisfaction to our ruined allies or to their wives or children or any other parties that my incapacity (not to say the defendant's) had brought such misfortune upon them—far from it, indeed. However, you may forgive Æschines these dread-

ful and monstrous things if it appears that he has damaged the cause through stupidity or any kind of ignorance: but if he has done it from a base motive, having received money and presents, and if he is clearly convicted by the facts themselves, put him to death if it be possible, or, if that cannot be, make him a living example to others. Now consider in your minds how convincing the proof of his guilt will be.

I presume that Æschines, the defendant, must have addressed those speeches to you, those about the Phocians and Thespiæ and Eubœa (supposing he was not from a corrupt motive intentionally playing false), from one of two causes; either because he had heard Philip expressly promise to effect and do the things in question, or else because he was charmed and beguiled by Philip's general liberality, and therefore expected those things from him also. There is no other alternative. Now in either of these cases he ought, beyond all other men, to detest Philip. Why? Because, so far as it depended on Philip, he has suffered the utmost indignity and disgrace. He has deceived you; he has become infamous; he is judged to be a lost man, if he had his deserts. Had due proceedings been taken, he would have been impeached long ago; but now, through your simplicity and good nature, he attends his audit, and chooses his time for it. Is there one of you who has heard the voice of Æschines accusing Philip?—who has seen him pressing any charge or speaking to the point? No one. Every Athenian is more ready to accuse Philip—any, indeed, that you like—though none of them assuredly has sustained any personal injury. I should have expected language like this from him, if he had not sold himself—"Men of Athens, deal with me as

you please: I believed, I was deluded, I was in error, I confess it: but beware of the man, O Athenians: he is not to be trusted, he is a juggler, a villain. See you not how he has treated me? how he has cajoled me?" I hear no language of this kind, nor do you. Why? Because he was not cajoled or deceived, but had hired himself and taken money when he made those statements, and betrayed you to Philip, and has been a good, true and faithful hireling to him, but a traitorous ambassador and citizen to you, deserving to perish not once, but three times over.

Nor is this the only proof that he was bribed to make all those statements. There came to you lately some envoys from Thessaly, and some of Philip's with them, requiring you to acknowledge Philip as an Amphictyon. Now, of all men, who was most especially bound to oppose them? Æschines here. Why? Because his reports to you were contradicted by Philip's acts. This man said that he would fortify Thespiæ and Platæa, and not destroy the Phocians, but humble the insolence of the Thebans: whereas Philip has made the Thebans greater than they should be, the Phocians he has utterly destroyed; and instead of fortifying Thespiæ and Platæa, he has reduced Orchomenus and Coronea also to slavery. How could any things be more contrary to one another? Yet he opposed them not; he never opened his mouth or uttered a word against them. And this, bad as it is, is not the worst:—he spoke on their side, he and no other person in the state. Even the profligate Philocrates ventured not to do this; Æschines, the man before you, did: and when you clamored and refused to hear him, he came down from the platform, and said, showing himself off to Philip's ambas-

sadors who were present—"There were many to clamor, but few to fight when it was needful": this you surely remember—he himself doubtless being a wonderful soldier, O Jupiter!

Yet more—if we were unable to show that any of the ambassadors had got anything, and it was not plain enough for all men to see, we must have resorted to question by torture and the like. But if Philocrates not only confessed his gains frequently in your assembly, but even displayed them before you, selling wheat, building houses, declaring that he would make his journey, whether you elected him or not, importing timber, changing gold openly at the banks; he surely cannot deny that he has had money, he that himself makes a confession and display of it. Then is there any man so senseless or infatuate, that, to procure money for Philocrates, and bring discredit and danger upon himself, when he might appear in the ranks of the innocent, he would rather be at enmity with them, and side with Philocrates to be prosecuted? There is no such man, I believe. All these, if you examine them rightly, O Athenians, you will find to be clear and ample proofs that Æschines has taken bribes.

A thing which has last occurred, but is as good a proof as any that he has sold himself to Philip, I beg you to consider. You know, of course, that when Hyperides lately impeached Philocrates, I came forward and said I was dissatisfied with one point in the impeachment, if it alleged that Philocrates had alone been guilty of so many grave misdemeanors, and the other nine ambassadors were entirely innocent. And I declared it was not so; for he by himself would have been of no account, if he had not had some of these men to co-operate with him. "How-

ever," said I, "that I may neither acquit nor accuse any man, but that facts themselves may discover the guilty, and clear those who are not implicated, let any man that pleases get up and declare before you that he has no concern in the acts of Philocrates, and approves them not. And whoever does so I will acquit him," I said. This you remember, I suppose. Well: no one came forward or showed himself. And the rest have each an excuse: one was not accountable; one, perhaps, was not present; another had a son-in-law yonder. The defendant, however, has no such reason. So completely hath he sold himself, and not only received wages for past services, but makes it plain that hereafter, should he now get off, he will help Philip against you, that, to avoid letting fall even a word in opposition to Philip, he accepts not even acquittal when we offer it, but chooses to incur infamy, prosecution, any kind of indignity at Athens, rather than do anything to give Philip displeasure.

But what is this connection, this over-anxiety for Philocrates? Had he done ever such great things, and got every advantage by his diplomacy, yet, if he confessed having made money by it, as he does confess, this is the very thing from which an incorrupt ambassador should have kept himself aloof and clear, and protested against it for his own part. Æschines, however, has not done so. Are not these facts plain, men of Athens? Don't they cry aloud that Æschines has taken bribes and is a scoundrel systematically for lucre's sake, not in thoughtlessness, nor in ignorance, nor by reason of failures?

And what witness proves that I have taken bribes?—says he. This is his grand point.—The facts, Æschines, which are the surest of all things; and it is impossible to

charge or allege that they are what they are in obedience or out of favor to any person. No: just what your treason and mischief has made them they, on examination, appear to be. But, in addition to the facts, you shall bear testimony against yourself immediately. Come, stand up and answer me. You can't urge that from inexperience you have nothing to say. You that conduct new prosecutions, like new dramas, and win them without witnesses even, in the division of a day, you must surely be a prodigy of an orator.

Many dreadful things hath Æschines, the defendant, perpetrated, involving a high degree of baseness, as I think you will agree; yet there is nothing in my judgment so dreadful as what I am about to mention; nothing that will so palpably convict him of having taken bribes and sold everything.

When you were for the third time again despatching envoys to Philip, under those great and splendid expectations which the defendant had held out, you elected him and me and most of the others the same as before. I came forward directly and excused myself, and when certain persons clamored and called on me to go, I declared I would not leave Athens: the defendant had then been elected. After the assembly had broken up these men met and consulted whom they should leave behind; for, while things were yet in suspense and the future was uncertain, conferences and discussions of all kinds took place in the market; they feared, therefore, that an extraordinary assembly might be convened on a sudden, that you might hear the truth from me, and pass some proper resolutions in favor of the Phocians, and so things would slip out of Philip's hands. Indeed, had you but voted and shown them a glimpse of hope they

would have been saved. For impossible, impossible was it for Philip to remain if you had not been tricked; as there was neither any grain in the country, it not having been sown on account of the war, nor could any grain be brought while your galleys were there and commanded the sea; and the Phocian cities were numerous and hard to take, except by a long siege; for, if he took a city in a day, they are twenty-two in number. For all these reasons, that you might not change the course into which you had been entrapped, they left Æschines at home. Well, but to excuse himself without some ground was dangerous, and fraught with suspicion.—"What say you? aren't you going, after these mighty advantages of your own announcing, and won't you be on the embassy?"—Still it was necessary to stay. How to act then?—He pretends to be ill, and his brother, taking Execestus, the physician, and going to the council, made affidavit of the defendant's illness, and was himself appointed. Five or six days after, when the Phocians had been destroyed, and this man's hire had come to an end like anything else, and Dercylus had returned from Chalcis, and reported to you, in assembly at Piræus, that the Phocians were destroyed, and you, men of Athens, naturally on receiving that intelligence were smitten with compassion for them and terror on your own account, and passed a vote to bring in your women and children from the country, and to repair the garrisons and fortify Piræus, and offer the Heraclean sacrifice within the city—in this state of things, when the commonwealth was in the midst of such confusion and alarm, this clever and powerful and loud-voiced orator, without any appointment by the council or the people, went off as ambassador to the author of all the mischief, taking

into account neither the illness on which he grounded his excuse, nor the fact that another ambassador had been chosen in his stead, nor that the law provides the penalty of death for such conduct, nor how monstrous it was, after reporting that a price had been set upon his head in Thebes, when the Thebans had, in addition to the lordship of all Bœotia, become masters also of the Phocian territory, to take a journey then to the heart of Thebes and the Theban camp; so insane was he, so intent upon his pelf and reward, that in defiance and despite of all these considerations he took himself off.

Such is the character of this proceeding: but what he did on his arrival there is far more shocking. For when all of you here, and the Athenians in general, considered the poor Phocians so shamefully and cruelly treated, that you would not send either members of the council or the judges to represent you at the Pythian games, but abstained from your customary deputation to the festival, Æschines went to the sacrifice which Philip and the Thebans offered in honor of their success and conquest, and was feasted, and joined in the libations and prayers which Philip offered up in thanksgiving for the lost fortresses and territory and troops of your allies, and donned the garland and sang the pæan in company with Philip, and pledged to him the cup of friendship.

Nor is it possible that I should state the matter thus, and the defendant otherwise. With respect to the affidavit, there is an entry in your public register in the temple of Cybele, which is given in charge to the superintendent, and a decree has been specially drawn concerning that name. With respect to his doings yonder, there will be evidence against him by his colleagues and persons

present, who told the particulars to me; for I did not go with them on the embassy, but excused myself. Now read me the decree and the register, and call the witnesses.

[*The decree. The public register. The witnesses*]

What prayer do you suppose Philip offered to the gods when he poured his libation? What do you suppose the Thebans? Did they not pray for might and victory in battle for them and their allies; the contrary for the allies of the Phocians? Well, then; Æschines joined in that prayer, and invoked a curse upon his country, which you ought now to make recoil upon his head.

He departed, therefore, in violation of the law, which makes such an act punishable with death: on his arrival, it has been shown, he did what he deserves to die for a second time: and his former acts and measures in this behalf as ambassador will justify his execution. Consider, then, what penalty there can be of severity enough to be deemed adequate to all his crimes. For would it not be shameful, O Athenians, that you and the whole people should publicly condemn all the proceedings consequent upon the peace, and refuse to take any part in Amphictyonic business, and regard Philip with displeasure and distrust, because the proceedings are impious and shocking, opposed, at the same time, to your interests and to justice; yet, when you have come into court to adjudicate at the audit of these matters, a sworn jury on behalf of the commonwealth, you should acquit the author of all the mischief, whom you have caught in the very act when his guilt was complete? And which of your fellow-citizens, or, rather, of the Greeks at large, will not have reason to complain of you, seeing that you are wroth with Philip,

who, in the transition from war to a treaty of peace, purchased his advantages from those that would sell them, a thing very venial in him; yet you acquit this man, who so disgracefully sold your interests, although the laws prescribe the heaviest penalties for such conduct.

Perhaps, however, an argument of the following kind may be advanced by these men—that it will cause enmity with Philip, if you convict the ambassadors who negotiated peace. If this be true, I can't imagine anything stronger to be urged against the defendant. For, if the man who expended money to obtain the peace has now become so formidable and mighty, that you must disregard your oaths and obligations, and consider only what you can do to gratify Philip, in what way can the authors of such a result be sufficiently punished? Though I think, indeed, I can show that it will more probably lead to a friendship advantageous for you. For it should be understood, men of Athens, that Philip does not despise your commonwealth, and did not prefer the Thebans to you, because he thought you less capable of serving him; but he was instructed by these men and informed—as I told you once before in the assembly, and none of them contradicted me—"that the people is, of all things, the most unstable and inconstant, like a restless wind in the sea, put in motion by any accident—one comes and another goes; no one cares for the public interests, or keeps them in mind—he should have friends to transact everything for him with you, and manage just as he would himself: if that were contrived for him, he would accomplish all that he desired with you easily."—If he had heard, I fancy, that the persons who used such language to him then had immediately after their return home been cudgelled to death, he would

have done the same as the Persian king. What did the Persian king? He had been deceived by Timagoras, and given him forty talents, as report says; but when he heard that Timagoras had been put to death at Athens, and had not the means even to insure his own safety, much less to perform his late promise to him, he saw that he had not given his fee to the party with whom the power rested. So, in the first place, he made Amphipolis again your subject, which before he had registered as his own ally and friend; and, in the next place, he never afterward gave money to any man. And Philip would have done the same, if he had seen any of these men punished; and now, if he sees it, he will do so. But when he hears that they enjoy reputation among you as speakers, as prosecutors of other men, what should he do? Seek to incur large expenses, when he may incur less, and volunteer to court all, instead of two or three? Why, he would be mad.

Even the Thebans Philip had no desire to serve as a people—far from it; but he was persuaded by the ambassadors, and I will tell you in what manner. Ambassadors came to him from Thebes, at the same time that we were there from you. He offered them money, and (according to their statement) a great deal. The Theban envoys would not accept or receive it. Afterward, at a certain sacrifice and banquet, when Philip was drinking and making himself agreeable to them, he offered them over the cup divers things, such as captives and the like, and, lastly, some gold and silver goblets. All these things they rejected, and would in no way compromise themselves. At length Philon, one of the ambassadors, made a speech worthy, O Athenians, to have been spoken not on behalf of the Thebans, but on yours. He said he was

delighted and rejoiced to see Philip liberally and generously disposed to them: they, for their part, were his friends already without those gifts; but they desired him to apply his generosity to the affairs of the commonwealth, in which he was then engaged, and to do something worthy both of himself and the Thebans; and they promised then that the whole commonwealth, as well as themselves, would be attached to him. Now only see what has come of this, what events have happened to the Thebans; and consider, in good sooth, what an important thing it is not to sell the interests of the state. First, they have obtained peace when they were distressed and harassed by the war and getting the worst of it; secondly, their enemies, the Phocians, have been utterly destroyed, and all their fortifications and cities demolished. Is that all? No, indeed! Besides that they have Orchomenus, Coronea, Corsiæ, Tilphossæum, as much of the Phocian territory as they please. Such advantages have the Thebans gained by the peace: greater they could not wish for, I imagine: but what have the Theban ambassadors gained? The advantage of having done so much for their country—that is all; but that is honorable and glorious, O Athenians, in regard to praise and renown, which these men bartered away for gold.

Now let me contrast what the Athenian commonwealth has gained by the peace, and what the Athenian ambassadors; and see if the commonwealth and these men themselves have fared alike. To the commonwealth the result has been that she has relinquished all her possessions and all her allies, and has sworn to Philip that, should any one else interfere ever to preserve them, you will prevent it, and will regard the person who wishes to restore them to

you as an adversary and a foe, the person who has deprived you of them as an ally and a friend. These are the terms which Æschines, the defendant, supported, and his coadjutor, Philocrates, proposed; and when I prevailed on the first day and had persuaded you to confirm the resolution of your allies, and to summon Philip's ambassadors, the defendant drove it off to the following day, and persuaded you to adopt the decree of Philocrates, in which these clauses, and many others yet more shameful, are contained. To the state, then, such consequences have resulted from the peace:—consequences more disgraceful could not easily be found: but what to the ambassadors who caused them? I pass by all the other matters which you have seen—houses—timber—grain; but in the territory of our ruined allies they have estates and farms of large extent, bringing in to Philocrates an income of a talent, to Æschines here thirty minas. Is it not shocking and dreadful, O Athenians, that the misfortunes of your allies have become a source of revenue to your ambassadors; that the same peace has to the country which sent them proved to be destruction of allies, cession of dominions, disgrace instead of honor, while to the ambassadors, who wrought these mischiefs to the country, it has produced revenues, resources, estates, riches, in exchange for extreme indigence? To prove the truth of my statements, call me the Olynthian witnesses.

[*Witnesses*]

I shall not be surprised, however, if he ventures to say something of this kind—that it was not possible to conclude the peace honorably or in the manner I desired, as the generals had conducted the war badly. Should he

say this, pray remember to ask him, whether he went ambassador from any other state, or from this only. If he went from another, which he can say had been victorious in war and possessed generals of ability, he has taken money with good reason: but if he went from this, why on a treaty, where the state which sent him renounced her own rights, did he receive presents into the bargain? The state which sent the embassy should have got the same advantages as her ambassadors, if any justice were done.

And again, consider this, men of Athens—Which, think ye, more prevailed in the war, the Phocians over the Thebans, or Philip over you? I am quite clear, the Phocians over the Thebans. They held Orchomenus and Coronea and Tilphossæum, and had cut off the Theban force at Neones, and had slain two hundred and seventy at Hedyleum, and a trophy was erected, and their cavalry were masters of the field, and an Iliad of misfortunes beset the Thebans. You had suffered nothing of the kind, and I trust you never may: the worst thing in the war with Philip was, that you could not do him harm when you desired; but you were perfectly secure against being damaged yourselves. How comes it then, that by the same peace the Thebans, who were so much beaten in the war, have recovered their own possessions and won those of their enemies, while you, the Athenians, have lost in time of peace even what was preserved in war? It is because their interests were not sold by their ambassadors, while these men have bartered yours away. That such has been the character of these transactions, you will learn yet more clearly from what follows.

When this treaty of Philocrates, which the defendant

spoke in favor of, was concluded, and Philip's ambassadors had received the oaths and departed (and up to this point no incurable mischief had been done, but, though the peace was dishonorable and unworthy of the state, yet we were to have those wonderful advantages by way of compensation), I asked your leave, and urged these men to sail with the utmost speed for the Hellespont, and not to sacrifice or let Philip get possession of any of the places there in the interval. For I knew well that whatever is sacrificed in the transition from war to peace is lost to the neglectful parties: for when once people have made up their minds on the whole for peace, they won't renew the war for what has been abandoned, but that remains the property of the captors. Besides, I believed the state would be sure to get one of two advantages, if we sailed—for either, we being on the spot and having sworn him according to the decree, he would restore the places which he had taken from the republic, and forbear to attack the rest, or, if he did not, we should immediately report it to Athens; and, so you, seeing his rapacity and perfidy in those distant and less important matters, would not be careless about these more important and nearer home—I mean the Phocians and Thermopylæ: on the other hand, if he had not captured those places and you had not been tricked, all your interests would be secure, and your just demands cheerfully accorded by him. And I had reason for supposing it would be so. For if the Phocians were safe, as they were then, and masters of Thermopylæ, Philip could have held out no threat to prevent your insisting upon any of your rights: neither a land march nor a victory by sea would have opened him the road to Attica, while you, if he refused

to give you satisfaction, would instantly close his ports, and again reduce him to distress for money and to a state of general blockade; so that he would be the party dependent on the benefits of peace, not you. That I am not now inventing and assuming the merit of these things after the event, but that they were perceived by me at the time, and foreseen on your behalf and communicated to these men, I will now give you the proof:—As all the assemblies had been exhausted, and therefore no new one could be had, and these men were not gone, but lingering here, I as councillor frame a decree (the people having given full power to the council) ordering the ambassadors to depart without delay, and the general Proxenus to convey them to whatever place they should hear Philip was in; and I drew it up just as I am telling you, in those express words. Here—read me the decree.

[*The decree*]

I carried them from Athens downright against their will, as you will see clearly by what they did afterward. When we arrived at Oreus and joined Proxenus, these men, instead of sailing and performing your instructions, took a circuitous journey, and before we came to Macedonia we wasted three-and-twenty days; all the rest of the time before Philip came we sat down in Pella, making fifty days altogether with those of the journey. In that interval Doriscus, Thrace, the Fortresses, the Sacred Mountain—everything, in short, during a time of peace and truce was taken and disposed of by Philip; though I was constantly speaking and remonstrating, at first giving my opinion as in consultation, afterward by way of instruction to ignorant men, lastly as if I were addressing venal

and impious wretches without any reserve. The man who openly opposed what I said, who thwarted all my counsels and your decrees, was the defendant. Whether that pleased the other ambassadors, you will know presently; for as yet I say nothing about any one—I make no accusation—there is no need for any of them to appear honest to-day by compulsion, but of their own choice, and by having had no connection with the crimes. For that the acts done are disgraceful and flagitious and not unpaid for, you have all seen: the thing itself will disclose who have been concerned in them.

But, forsooth, in that interval they received the oaths from the allies, or performed other duties. Very far from it. Although they were absent for three whole months, and had received from you a thousand drachms for their travelling expenses, from not a single state, either on the journey there or on the journey back, did they receive the oaths; but in the inn before the temple of Castor and Pollux—if any of you has been at Pheræ, he knows the place I mean—here the oaths were administered, when Philip was marching hither with his army, in a manner disgraceful, O Athenians, and unworthy of you. Philip indeed would have given a great deal to have it managed in this way. For when they were unable to draw up the treaty as these men attempted at first, excluding the Halians and Phocians, but Philocrates was compelled by you to expunge that clause and insert expressly the Athenians and allies of the Athenians, he did not wish any of his own allies to have sworn that oath (for then they would not have marched with him to attack those possessions of yours which he now holds, but would have made the oaths an excuse), nor did he wish them to witness the

promises on which he was obtaining the peace, nor to have it shown to all, that in fact the Athenian commonwealth had not been beaten in war, but it was Philip who desired peace, and was making large promises to the Athenians if he could obtain peace. So, for fear what I say might be publicly known, he objected to these men going anywhere; and they did everything to gratify him with an ostentation of zeal and extravagant servility.

I say then—when they are convicted of all these things —having wasted the time, sacrificed the posts in Thrace, done nothing that you directed or that your interests required, brought false intelligence to Athens—how is it possible for them to escape with intelligent and conscientious judges? To prove the truth of these statements, read first the decree prescribing how the oath was to be administered, then the letter of Philip, then the decree of Philocrates and that of the people.

[*The decree prescribing the oath*]

[*The letter of Philip*]

[*The decree of Philocrates*]

[*The decree of the People amending that of Philocrates*]

To show that we should have caught Philip in the Hellespont, if they had followed my advice and executed your commands as expressed in the decrees, call the witnesses there present.

[*Witnesses*]

Now read the other deposition, what answer Philip made to Euclides here, who came afterward.

[*The deposition*]

They can't deny they did all this to serve Philip—attend, and you will see. When we started on the former

embassy for the peace, you sent a herald before us to stipulate for our safe conduct. On that occasion, as soon as they arrived at Oreus, they did not wait for the herald or create any delay, but, though Halus was under siege, they crossed over to it, and again coming out of that city to Parmenio, who was besieging it, they set off through the hostile army for Pagasæ, and going on met the herald at Larissa: with such expedition and diligence they proceeded then. Yet when there was peace and every security for travelling, and your command to make haste, it never occurred to them either to expedite their journey or to go by sea. How came this about? Because on the former occasion it was Philip's interest that the peace should be concluded as quickly as possible, but on this it was for his advantage that the interval before demanding the oaths should be as much as possible protracted. To show that these statements are also true, here—take this deposition.

[*The deposition*]

Is there any evidence to convict men of entire subservience to Philip stronger than this—that on the same journey they loitered when they ought to have made haste in your service, and hurried when they ought not even to have travelled before the arrival of the herald?

During the time that we were there and loitering in Pella, see what different employments we each chose for ourselves. Mine was to deliver the captives and seek them out, to expend money of my own, and request Philip to ransom them with what he would have given in presents to us. What the defendant made it his business to accomplish, you shall hear immediately. What was it?

That Philip should make us a common present of money. For you must know, among other things, Philip sounded us all—in what way?—by sending to each privately, and offering, O Athenians, a heap of gold. Failing with one, no matter whom—(for it is not for me to mention myself; the facts and circumstances will show)—he thought that a common present would be accepted without suspicion by all, and thus there would be security for those who had privately sold themselves, if in ever so small a degree we all joined in the acceptance. Therefore the offer was made, under pretence of being a gift of hospitality. I having stopped it, these men divided the money among themselves—this besides what they had had before. Philip, when I requested him to expend it upon the captives, could neither inform against these men with honor, or say—"Oh! but this and that person have it"—nor yet escape the outlay; so he consented, giving an evasive promise to send them home by the Panathenæan festival. Read the deposition of Apollophanes, then that of the other persons who were present. Read.

[*The deposition*]

Now let me tell you how many of the prisoners I ransomed myself. During the time that we stayed in Pella, before the arrival of Philip, some of the captives who were out on bail, doubting (I suppose) whether they should afterward be able to prevail on Philip, said they should like to ransom themselves, and not be under an obligation to Philip; and they applied for loans, one of three minas, another of five, and so on, according to what each man's ransom came to. When Philip therefore consented to redeem the rest, I called the men together, to

whom I had advanced the money, and reminding them of what had been done, that they might not seem to be in a worse position for their haste, or to have been ransomed (poor as they were) out of their own private means, while the others expected to be released by Philip, I made them a present of the redemption-money. To prove my statements, read these depositions.

[*The depositions*]

The sums that I forgave and made a present of to our unfortunate fellow-citizens are what you hear. Should the defendant say to you presently—"How comes it, Demosthenes, having discovered (as you say) from my supporting Philocrates, that we were after no good, you went with us on the subsequent embassy for the oaths, and did not excuse yourself?"—remember, I had promised the men whom I ransomed, that I would come and bring the redemption-money, and do my best to deliver them. It would have been shameful then to break my word, and abandon fellow-citizens in misfortune. But, had I got off the appointment, I could not have made a private excursion there with propriety or safety: for, but that I desired to release the captives, perdition seize me, if I would have taken a very large sum of money to be the colleague of these men. And I can prove it—for you twice elected me for the third embassy, and I twice excused myself; and during the whole of my absence on this I opposed them in everything.

Thus went your affairs, so far as I had the control on the embassy: what these men carried by being the majority has ruined all. Indeed all our measures would have been consistent with what I have just stated, had my ad-

vice been followed. For I was not such a wretched idiot as to give money, when I saw others receiving it, for the sake of standing well with you, while things that might be accomplished without expense, and that drew with them far greater advantages to the commonwealth, I was in my wishes opposed to. I wished for them earnestly, O Athenians; but these men, I trow, were too many for me.

Come now—see what have been the defendant's acts in comparison with mine, and what those of Philocrates; for in contrast they will appear more glaring. First, they excluded the Phocians and the Halians and Cersobleptes from the treaty, contrary to your decree and the declaration made to you: secondly, they attempted to disturb and alter the decree, which we had been commissioned to execute: further, they set down the Cardians as allies of Philip. And the letter written by me to you they determined not to send, while they sent one written by themselves without a word of truth. Then this brave fellow here said I had promised Philip to overturn your democracy, because I denounced those acts, not only regarding them as disgraceful, but fearing I might be involved in the ruin of these men through their fault; while he himself never ceased during the whole time holding private interviews with Philip. And the rest I say nothing about —but Dercylus (not I), with the assistance of this boy of mine, watched him during the night at Pheræ, and having caught him coming out of Philip's tent, told the boy to report it to me and keep it in his own remembrance; and finally this abominable and shameless fellow for a night and day after our departure stayed behind with Philip. To prove the truth of my statements, in the first

place, I will draw up my own deposition and make myself responsible as a witness; in the next place, I call each of the other ambassadors, and will force them to do one or the other, to give testimony or swear they are unable. If they swear they are unable, I shall convict them of perjury before you clearly.

[*The deposition*]

With what annoyances and troubles I was beset, during the whole of the expedition, you have seen. You may guess indeed what they did in the neighborhood of their paymaster, when such are their doings before your eyes, in whose power it is either to reward or to punish.

I will now reckon up the charges from the beginning, to show you I have performed all that I promised in the outset of my speech. I have shown by the evidence not of words, but of the facts themselves, that his reports have been utterly false and that he imposed on you. I have shown, that owing to him you refused to hear the truth from me, being influenced by his promises and assurances; that all his advice was contrary to what it should have been: that he opposed the peace of the allies and supported that of Philocrates; he wasted the time, to prevent your marching to Phocis, even if you desired it, he has committed many grievous things besides during his absence; he has betrayed and sold everything, taken bribes, stopped short of nothing that is villanous. All these things I promised in the beginning; all I have made out. Mark then what follows—this that I have next to say to you is simple:—You have sworn to give your verdict according to the laws and the decrees of the people and the council of five hundred: the defendant is

proved by his whole conduct as ambassador to have violated the laws, the decrees, the obligations of justice: it is fit therefore he should be convicted before an intelligent jury.

Were he guilty of nothing else, two of his acts are sufficient to kill him: for he has betrayed not only the Phocians, but Thrace also to Philip. Two places in the world more important to our commonwealth could not be pointed out than Thermopylæ by land, and the Hellespont by sea: both which together have these men disgracefully sold and delivered into Philip's hands against you. What an offence even this is, without anything further—the sacrificing of Thrace and the Fortresses—would be an infinite topic of discussion: and it were easy to show, how many persons have on that account been sentenced to death before you, or incurred heavy fines—Ergophilus, Cephisodotus, Timomachus, in ancient times Ergocles, Dionysius, and others, all of whom together (I may nearly say) have injured the commonwealth less than this man. But then, O Athenians, you were still, on calculation, wary and provident of danger: while now, what for the day gives you no trouble, no present annoyance, you disregard; and here you pass idle votes: that Philip shall take the oaths to Cersobleptes—that he shall not interfere in Amphictyonic business—that you will amend the peace. But there would have been no necessity for any of these decrees, if the defendant had chosen to sail and perform his duty: what might have been preserved by sailing, he has lost by advising a land journey; what might have been saved by telling truth, he has lost by lying.

He will make it a grievance presently, as I am informed, that he should be the only orator in the assembly

who is called to account for words. I will not press the argument, that all men should be made responsible for their words, if they speak for lucre; but I say this—If Æschines in his private capacity played the fool or made any slip, don't be overnice; let it pass, forgive him: but if in the character of ambassador he has for lucre's sake purposely deceived you, don't let him off, don't tolerate that he is not to be brought to trial for what he said. For what else ought we to call ambassadors to account but for words? Ambassadors have not galleys or posts or soldiers or citadels under their control (for no one intrusts ambassadors with these things), but only words and times. With respect to time—if he never destroyed the opportunities of the state, he is innocent; if he has destroyed them, he is guilty. And as to words—if his reports have been true or serviceable, let him be acquitted; if false and corrupt and injurious, let him be convicted. A man can do you no greater wrong than by telling falsehoods: for where the government depends on words, how is it possible, if these be untrue, to carry it on safely? And if speakers will even take bribes for the interest of the enemy, how can you avoid being in peril? Nor indeed is it the same thing to rob oligarchs or despots of their opportunities, as it is to rob you; nor anything like. For in those governments, I take it, everything is done sharply according to order: but with you, first the council must hear of all matters and frame their previous order, and that only after publication of notice for heralds and embassies, not always; then they must convene an assembly, and that only when it is allowable by the laws: then your honest counsellors must get the day, and prevail over those who ignorantly or wickedly oppose them. And after

all this, when a resolution has passed, and its advantage is apparent, time has to be allowed for the indigence of the multitude to provide themselves with what is needful, that they may be able to execute your resolve. A man, I say, who destroys these times of action in a government such as ours has done more than destroy times of action; he has absolutely robbed you of your main chance.

There is a ready argument however for all who wish to deceive you—"the disturbers of the commonwealth!—the persons who prevent Philip from doing the state a service!" To them I shall offer not a word in reply, but read you Philip's letters, and remind you of the occasions on which in every instance you have been cheated, that you may see, by cajoling you, he has forfeited that boastful title that one got sick of hearing.

[*Letters of Philip*]

His acts in the embassy having been thus disgraceful, so many, nay all of them, having been treason against you, he goes about saying—"What name does Demosthenes deserve, who accuses his colleagues?" Verily I accuse, whether I will or no, having been so plotted against by you during the whole of my absence, and having the choice of two things left me, either in acts of such a description to be thought your accomplice, or to accuse. I say that I have not been your colleague at all in the embassy, but that you did many heinous things as ambassador, and I did what was best for these people. Philocrates has been your colleague, and you his, and Phrynon: for you all did these things, and approved of them.

But where is the salt? where the social board and libations? Such is the rant he goes about with: as if doers

of justice, and not doers of iniquity, were the betrayers of these things! I know that all the presidents on every occasion sacrifice in common, and sup with each other, and pour libations together; and the good do not on this account imitate the bad, but if they find any of their body committing an offence, they inform the council and the people. In like manner the council offer their opening sacrifice, banquet together, join in libations and ceremonials. So do the generals, and I may say nearly all the magistrates. But do they on such account allow impunity to their members who commit crime? Far from it. Leon accused Timagoras, after having been four years his co-ambassador: Eubulus accused Tharrex and Smicythas, after having been their messmate: the famous Conon of old accused Adimantus, after having shared the command with him. Which then violated the salt and the cup, Æschines—the traitors, the false ambassadors and acceptors of bribes, or their accusers? Assuredly the men of iniquity violated, as you have done, the sanctities of their whole country, not merely those of private fellowship.

To show you, however, that these men have been the vilest and basest not only of all public deputies to Philip, but of all (without exception) who ever privately visited him, let me tell you a little circumstance unconnected with the embassy.

When Philip took Olynthus, he celebrated Olympic games, and invited all kinds of artists to the sacrifice and the festival. While he was feasting them and crowning the conquerors, he asked Satyrus, our comic actor, why he was the only person who preferred no request, whether it was that he had observed in him any meanness or discourtesy toward himself. Satyrus (they say) replied, that

he wanted none of the things which the others asked, that what he should like to propose it would be very easy for Philip to oblige him with, but he was fearful of being refused. Philip bade him speak out, assuring him in handsome terms, that there was nothing he would not do; upon which (they say) he declared, that Apollophanes of Pydna was his friend; that, after he had been assassinated, his relations in alarm secretly removed his daughters, then little children, to Olynthus. "They," said he, "now that the city is taken, have become prisoners, and are in your hands: they are of marriageable age. Give me them, I pray and beseech you. Yet I wish you to hear and understand, what sort of a present you will give me, if you do give it. I myself shall derive no profit from the grant; for I shall give them in marriage with portions, and not suffer them to be treated in any manner unworthy of myself or their father." When the company at the banquet heard this, there was a clapping of hands and tumult of applause from all sides, insomuch that Philip was touched, and gave him the girls. Yet this Apollophanes was one of the persons who killed Philip's brother Alexander.

Now let us contrast with this banquet of Satyrus another banquet, which these men held in Macedonia; and see if it has any likeness or resemblance.

These men were invited to the house of Xenophron, the son of Phædimus, one of the Thirty, and off they went. I did not go. When they came to the drinking, he introduces a certain Olynthian woman, good-looking, and well-born also and modest, as the case proved. At first (I believe) they only made her drink quietly and eat dessert; so Iatrocles told me the next day: but as it went on, and they became heated, they ordered her to sit down

and sing a song. The woman was in a sad way; she neither would do it nor could; whereupon the defendant and Phrynon said it was an insult, and not to be tolerated that a captive woman, one of the accursed and pestilent Olynthians, should give herself airs; and—"Call the boy"; and—"A lash here." A servant came with a whip: and as they were in liquor, I imagine, and it took but little to exasperate them, upon her saying something or other and bursting into tears, the servant rips off her tunic and gives her several cuts on the back. The woman, maddened by the pain and the whole treatment, jumps up, throws herself at the knees of Iatrocles, and overturns the table: and had he not snatched her away, she would have perished by drunken violence; for the drunkenness of this scoundrel is terrible. There was a talk about this female in Arcadia before the Ten Thousand; and Diophantus made a report to you, which I will compel him now to give evidence of; and there was much talk in Thessaly and everywhere.

Notwithstanding his guilty conscience, this polluted wretch will dare to look you in the face, will raise his voice presently and talk about the life that he has lived; which chokes me to listen to. Don't these people know that in early life you used to read the books for your mother at her initiations, and as a boy were rolled about among orgiasts and drunkards?—that afterward you were an office under-clerk, and did dirty work for two or three drachms?—that it is but lately you got a wretched livelihood for your services as third-rate player on the boards of other men? What sort of a life can you mention which you have not lived, when that which you have lived appears to be of such a character? But his assurance for-

sooth! He brought another man to trial before you for infamous practices! But of that by and by. Read me first these depositions.

[*Depositions*]

Such being the number, men of the jury, such the character of the offences which he has committed against you, including every species of criminality—a receiver of bribes, a flatterer, under the curse, a liar, a betrayer of his friends—all the most heinous crimes are included; —from none of these charges will he defend himself, no plain and honest defence will he be able to plead; what I have heard he intends to say amounts almost to madness, though, perhaps, a person who has no other plea to urge is obliged to employ what artifices he can. I am told he will say that I have been a partner in all that I denounce, that I approved of all and co-operated with him, but I have suddenly changed and become accuser. This is no fair or proper justification of his conduct, but only an accusation of me: for, if I have so acted, I am a good-for-nothing man, and yet the proceedings are none the better for that; quite otherwise. However, I consider it my duty to show to you, both that the assertion, if he makes it, will be false, and what the fair line of defence is. The fair and honest defence is to show either that the things alleged against him have not been done, or that, being done, they benefit the state. Neither of these points can he establish. For neither surely can he say that it is to our advantage for the Phocians to be destroyed and Philip to hold Thermopylæ and the Thebans to be strong and troops to be in Eubœa and forming designs on Megara and the peace to be unsworn; the con-

trary to all of which his reports to you announced as being to your advantage and about to take place: nor can he persuade you, who have yourselves seen and known all the circumstances, that these results have not been accomplished. It remains, then, for me to prove that I have had no connection with these men in anything. Would you like me to pass over all the rest—how I spoke against them before you, how I quarrelled on the journey, how I have opposed them all along—and produce these men themselves as witnesses that my acts and theirs have been entirely different, and that they have received money to be your enemies, while I refused to take it? Mark, then.

What man in the commonwealth should you say was the most odious blackguard, with the largest stock of impudence and insolence? Not one of you, I am certain, could even by mistake name any other than Philocrates. What man speaks the loudest, and can utter what he likes with the clearest voice? Æschines, the defendant, I am sure. Whom do these men call spiritless and cowardly with the mob while I call him reserved? Myself: for never was I intrusive in any way; never have I done violence to your inclinations. Well: in all the assemblies whenever there has been a discussion upon these matters you hear me always both accusing and convicting these men, and positively declaring that they have taken money and sold all the interests of the state. And none of them hearing my statements ever contradicted them, or opened his mouth or showed himself. What can be the reason that the most odious blackguards in the commonwealth and the loudest speakers are overpowered by me, who am the timidest of men, and speak no louder than

any one else? It is that truth is strong, and, on the other hand, the consciousness of having sold your interests is weak. This takes off from the audacity of these men, this warps their tongue, stops their mouths, chokes and keeps them silent. You know, of course, on the late occasion in Piræus, when you would not allow him to be your envoy, how he shouted out that he would impeach and indict me, with cries of "Shame! shame!" Yet all that is the prelude to numerous contests and arguments, whereas these are simple, and, perhaps, but two or three words, which a slave bought yesterday might have spoken—"Athenians, it is atrocious: here is a man accusing me of what he has himself been concerned in; and saying that I have taken money, when he has taken it himself."—Nothing of this kind did he say or utter; none of you heard him; but he threatened something different. Why? Because he was conscious of guilt, and not independent enough to speak those words: his resolution never reached that point, but shrank back, for his conscience checked it. No one, however, prevented him from indulging in general abuse and calumny.

The strongest point of all, a matter not of argument but of fact, I am about to mention: Upon my offering to do what was just, namely, as I had been twice ambassador, to render my account twice, Æschines, the defendant, came up to the auditors with divers witnesses, and warned them not to summon me into court, on the ground that I had passed my audit and had no further liability. And the thing was beyond measure ridiculous. What was the meaning of it? He having rendered his account of the former embassy, which no one arraigned,

did not wish to attend a fresh audit for that which he is now tried upon, which included all his misdeeds: but if I attended twice, the consequence would be that he, too, must come into court again; therefore he would not let them summon me. Now, men of Athens, this circumstance proves both points clearly to you, both that Æschines has condemned himself, so that none of you can conscientiously acquit him now, and that he will not utter a word of truth about me; for, had he anything to say, he would have come forward with it then and accused me, never have given notice not to summon me into court. In support of my statements, call the witnesses to them.

[*Witnesses*]

Should he speak any slander about me foreign to the embassy, on many accounts you should refuse to hear him. I am not on my trial to-day; and after this no water is poured in for me. What is it, then, but lack of honest arguments? For who upon his trial would elect to accuse, if he had a good defence? Again, consider this, men of the jury. If I were tried, and Æschines accusing, and Philip the judge, and I, having no means of showing my innocence, began maligning Æschines and trying to blacken his character, don't you think Philip would, on this very account, be indignant that any one before him should malign his benefactors? Do not you then be worse than Philip, but compel him to make his defence upon the points in issue.

[*The deposition*]

You see, I, because I was conscious of no wrong, thought proper to render my account, and submit to all

that the laws required; Æschines did the reverse. How, then, can his actions and mine have been the same? or how can he possibly maintain before you what he has never even alleged against me before? Surely he cannot. He will, however; and verily I don't wonder. For you surely know this—that since the creation of man, and since trials have been instituted, no one ever was found guilty confessing his crime: no; they put on a bold face, deny the charge, tell lies, invent excuses, do anything to escape punishment.

You must not be duped by anything of this sort to-day, but decide the case by your knowledge, and pay no heed to my statements or the defendant's, no, nor to the witnesses whom he will have ready to prove what he likes, with Philip for his paymaster (you'll see how promptly they will give evidence for him): neither care whether Æschines has a loud and fine voice, nor I a poor one. For it is not your business, if you are wise, to have a trial of orators or speeches to-day, but to regard the dire and shameful ruin of your affairs, and to cast back the infamy upon its authors, having inquired into these doings that are within your own knowledge. What doings? These which you know, and need not be informed by me. If all which they promised you has resulted from the peace, and you confess yourselves to be so full of cowardice and baseness that without enemies in the country, without being blockaded by sea, without the city being in any danger, while you were purchasing cheap corn, and in other respects no worse off than at present, when you knew and had been told by these men that your allies would be ruined, and the Thebans would become powerful, and that Philip would take the fortresses in

Thrace, and that sallying places would be established against you in Eubœa, and that all which has been done would happen, you were content to make the peace notwithstanding—acquit Æschines, and do not in addition to so many disgraces incur the sin of perjury: for he does you no wrong; I am a fool and a madman to accuse him. But if just the reverse—if they spoke in the kindest manner of Philip, saying that he loved the commonwealth, he would save the Phocians, he would humble the pride of Thebes, yet more, he would confer benefits on you beyond the value of Amphipolis, if he obtained the peace, and would restore Eubœa and Oropus—if after saying and promising all this they have cheated and cajoled you, and all but stripped you of Attica, pronounce your verdict against him, and let it not be that, in addition to the other outrages put upon you (for I know not what else to call them), you, for the bribes taken by these men, carry home the curse and the perjury.

Consider again, men of the jury: for what object could I have chosen to accuse these men, if they were innocent? You can find none. Is it pleasant to have many enemies? It is not even safe. Was there any quarrel subsisting between Æschines and me? None. What then? You feared for yourself, and through cowardice thought this was your security:—that I have heard he says.—Well, but without there being any danger or crime, Æschines, as you allege! Should he repeat that, consider, men of the jury, whether for crimes, which I who am innocent feared would be my ruin through those persons—what ought they to suffer who are the guilty parties? But it is for no such reason. Wherefore, then, do I accuse you? Vexatiously, forsooth, that I may get money from

you! And, pray, was it better for me to receive a large sum, as large as any of these men, from Philip who offered it, and have both him and these for my friends (for they would, they would have been my friends, if I had been their accomplices: even now the feud between us is not hereditary, but because I have not been a partner in their acts): or to beg from them a portion of their receipts, and be at enmity both with Philip and them?—and while I ransomed the prisoners at such an expense out of my own means, to ask these men for a disgraceful pittance which made them my enemies? Impossible. I reported what was true, and abstained from taking presents out of regard to justice and truth and my future life, believing that, if I was virtuous, I should be honored among you no less than certain other people, and that I must not barter away my public spirit for any lucre: and these men I abhor, because I saw them in the embassy to be villanous and execrable, and I have been deprived, too, of my personal distinctions, since through the corruption of these men your displeasure has fallen upon the whole embassy: and I accuse now and am come to the audit foreseeing the future, and wishing to have it determined by the verdict of this tribunal that my actions have been the opposite of theirs. And I fear, I fear (all my thoughts shall be declared to you) hereafter you may drag me who am innocent along with them, but you will remain passive now. For it seems to me, O Athenians, you are wholly paralyzed, waiting till calamity falls upon you; and while you see other people suffer, you take no precaution, nor give a thought to the commonwealth, now so long in many fearful ways declining.

Don't you think it dreadful and monstrous?—for

though I had resolved to be silent, I am led on to speak:—You must know Pythocles, the son of Pythodorus. With him I was on very friendly terms, and up to this day nothing unpleasant has passed between us. He turns out of my way now when he meets me, ever since he has been with Philip; and if he is compelled to cross my path he starts away in a moment, for fear some one should see him speaking to me: yet with Æschines he walks all round the market, and holds consultation. It is really dreadful and shocking, O Athenians—while people who have chosen Philip's service have this advantage, that his perception is in either case so keen, they believe each of them, as surely as if he were standing at their side, that nothing they do even here can escape him, and they regard as friends whom he thinks proper, and as enemies likewise—those who are devoted to you, who are ambitious of your esteem and have never sacrificed it, find in you such a deafness and blindness that these miscreants are here contending on equal terms with me, and that, too, before a jury who know all the circumstances. Would you like to know and hear the reason? I will tell you; and, pray, be not offended at my speaking the truth. It is because Philip, I take it, having one body and one soul, loves with his whole heart the people that do him good, and hates those that do the contrary; whereas any one of you never thinks that a person serving the state serves him, or that a person damaging the state damages him; each individual has things of greater importance to himself, by which you are frequently led astray—compassion, envy, resentment, granting favors, a thousand things besides—indeed, should one escape everything else, there is no escaping persons who don't like one to be such. The fault in each of

these instances gradually undermines and ends in being the total ruin of the commonwealth.

Do not, O Athenians, commit any such error to-day; do not acquit the man who has so greatly wronged you. For really what will be said of you, if you do acquit him? —Certain ambassadors went from Athens to Philip; Philocrates, Æschines, Phrynon, Demosthenes. What then? One of them, besides that he made no profit by the embassy, redeemed the captives out of his own private means: another with the money for which he sold the country's interests went about purchasing harlots and fish. Another sent his son to Philip, before he had entered him in the roll of citizens; the brutal Phrynon: while the first did nothing unworthy of the commonwealth or himself. One, though choir-master and captain, thought it right in addition to incur these voluntary expenses, to redeem the captives, and not permit any of his fellow-countrymen to be in distress for want: another, so far from delivering any already in captivity, helped to bring a whole district, and more than ten thousand infantry and nearly a thousand cavalry of an allied nation, into the power of Philip. What followed? The Athenians got hold of them—having known all about it long before—well?—the men who had taken money and presents, who had disgraced themselves and the country and their own children, they acquitted, considering them to be men of sense and the country to be in a flourishing state;—but what of the man who accused them?—him they judged to be an idiot, ignorant of the country, not knowing how to throw his own away.

And who, O Athenians, after seeing this example, will wish to prove himself an honest man? Who will be an ambassador for nothing, if he is neither to take reward,

nor with you to be held more trustworthy than persons who have taken it? Therefore, you are not only trying these men to-day; no: you are legislating for all time to come, whether ambassadors should take money to work disgracefully for the enemy, or do their best in your behalf without bribe or fee.

Upon the other matters you require no witness: but as to Phrynon sending his son, call me the witnesses to that.

[*Witnesses*]

Æschines never prosecuted this man on the charge of sending his son to Philip for dishonor. But if one being in his youth better looking than another, not foreseeing what suspicion might arise from such comeliness, hath been a little wild in after-life, Æschines must prosecute him for infamous crime.

Now let me speak of the entertainment and the decree: I had nearly forgotten what was most material to say to you. In drawing up the order of council concerning the first embassy, and again before the people at the assemblies in which you were to debate the question of peace, when nothing either spoken or done wrong by these persons was known, I according to customary usage commended and invited them to the city hall. And what is more, I entertained Philip's ambassadors, and very splendidly, too, O Athenians: for when I saw them in Macedonia glorying even in such things as proofs of wealth and splendor, it occurred to me that I should begin directly to surpass them in these things, and display greater magnificence myself: however, the defendant now will bring the matter forward, and say, "Demosthenes himself commended us, himself feasted the ambassadors"—not distinguishing

the when. It was before the country had sustained an injury, before it was discovered that these men had sold themselves; when the ambassadors had just arrived for the first time, and the people had to hear what they proposed, and it was not yet known that the defendant would support Philocrates, or that he would make such a motion. If, therefore, he should bring this forward, remember the dates; they are earlier than the offences: since that time there has not been the slightest connection or communion between these men and me. Read the deposition.

[*The deposition*]

Perhaps his brothers Philochares and Aphobetus will plead for him. To both of them there is much that you may with justice reply (I must speak freely, O Athenians, without any reserve):—Aphobetus and Philochares! you being a painter of perfume boxes and drums, your brothers under-clerks and common persons (there is no reproach in these things, yet they hardly deserve a general's rank); we dignified you with embassies, generalships, and the highest honors. Now, supposing that none of you committed any crime, we should have nothing to be grateful for to you, but you for these things ought to be grateful to us; for we, passing by many persons more worthy of honor, exalted you. But if in the very exercise of your dignities one of you has committed crime, and crime, too, of such a nature, don't you much more deserve execration than pardon? Much more, in my opinion.

They will be violent, perhaps, with their loud voices and impudence, and with the plea that "it is pardonable to assist a brother." But don't you give way: remember,

while it is their duty to regard Æschines, it is yours to regard the laws and the whole commonwealth, and (above all) the oaths that you have yourselves sworn as jurors. If, indeed, they have requested any of you to save the defendant, see whether they mean, in case he is not shown to have injured the commonwealth, or even in case he is. If they mean in case of innocence, I am also for saving him; if unconditionally and however guilty he has been, they have asked you to commit perjury. For though the ballot is secret, it will not be hidden from the gods. Most wisely was it seen by him that enacted the law of secret voting that none of these men will know which of you has obliged him, but the gods and the divine spirit will know who has voted iniquitously: from whom it is better for each of you to secure good hopes for himself and his children by giving a righteous and proper judgment, than to confer a secret and uncertain obligation upon these men, and to acquit a person who has given evidence against himself. For what stronger witness, Æschines, can I produce, to prove your misconduct as ambassador, than you against yourself? You that thought it necessary to involve in such a dreadful calamity the man who would have brought some of your deeds to light, certainly expected some heavy punishment yourself, should the people hear what you had done.

This proceeding, if you are wise, will turn out to his own prejudice, not only on this account, that it is a flagrant indication of what his acts as ambassador have been, but because in conducting the accusation he used those arguments which stand good against him now: for surely the same principles, which you laid down when you prosecuted Timarchus, are available also for others against

yourself. You then said to the jury—"Demosthenes will defend him, and will arraign my conduct as ambassador: and, then, if he misleads you by his speech, he will brag and go about saying—how? what do you think? I led the jurors right away from the question, and stole the case out of their hands." Don't yourself act thus. Confine your defence to the subject of your trial. When you were prosecuting him, then was the time for accusing and saying what you pleased.

Again you recited before the jury, having no witness to bring in support of your charge against the accused—

> Rumor which many people noise abroad
> Not wholly dies: a goddess eke is she.

Well, Æschines; and all these people say that you have received money from the embassy; so that against you, too, I should think, Rumor which many people noise abroad not wholly dies. For inasmuch as more accuse you than him, see how the matter stands. Timarchus even his neighbors did not all know; but of you ambassadors there is no Greek or barbarian who does not say, that you have received money from the embassy. If rumor therefore is true, that of the multitude is against you all; and that such rumor is credible, and that a goddess eke is she, and that the poet who wrote this was a wise man, you have yourself laid down.

And besides, he got up a number of Iambics, and repeated them; for instance—

IAMBICS FROM THE PHŒNIX OF EURIPIDES

> Who loves the fellowship of evil men,
> Of him I never ask, assured that whom
> He seeks for comrades he resembles most.

"The man who frequented the cock-pits and walked about with Pittalacus"—these were his words and others like them—"don't you know," said he, "what sort of a person to consider him?" Well, Æschines: these iambics will suit me now against you; and I shall speak fitly and properly, if I recite to the jury—Who loves the fellowship of Philocrates, and that too on an embassy, of him I never ask, assured that he has received money like Philocrates who confesses it.

When he calls other men speech-writers and sophists, and attempts to vilify them, he will prove to be himself liable to these reproaches. For those iambics are from the Phœnix of Euripides: and that drama was never acted by either Theodorus or Aristodemus, to whom the defendant used to take third parts, but Molon played in it, and other old performers whoever they were. The Antigone of Sophocles, however, Theodorus has often acted, and so has Aristodemus; in which there are iambics beautifully written and in a strain useful to you, which, though he has himself often spoken and knows them quite by heart, he omitted. You are of course aware, that in all tragic pieces it is a sort of special privilege for third-rate actors to come on as tyrants and sceptre-bearers. See then what the verses are in this drama, which the poet has put into the mouth of Creon Æschines, which he neither conned over to himself to serve him in the embassy, nor repeated to the jury. Read:

IAMBICS FROM THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES

Ye cannot tell the spirit of a man,
His wisdom, nor his worth, till they be tried
In public life and acts of policy.
The statesman, who to serve the common weal

Adopts not what in counsel is the best,
But closes up his mouth for fear of danger,
Base have I ever deem'd, and deem him still.
And whoso dearer than his country loves
A private friend, as nothing I esteem.
For I (bear witness, thou all-seeing Jove!)
Should not keep silence, if I saw destruction
Advancing toward my people 'stead of safety;
Nor e'er would I accept as friend of mine
My country's enemy: for well I know,
'Tis she preserves us all; in her embark'd,
While steadily she sails, we lack not friendship.

None of these verses did Æschines repeat to himself on the embassy: instead of the commonwealth, he deemed Philip's friendship of the greatest importance and advantage to himself, bidding a long farewell to the wise Sophocles: when he saw destruction advancing nigh, the expedition against Phocis, he gave no warning or notice, but on the contrary helped to conceal and forward it, and those who wished to give information he prevented; not remembering that she it is who preserves us all, and in her his mother initiating and purifying, and making a profit from the houses of her employers, reared up all these children, and that his father teaching the alphabet, as I am informed by older men, lived how he could next door to Heros the physician, but lived at all events in this city; and they themselves got money by being underclerks and servants to all the public functionaries, and at last having been appointed clerks by you were maintained for two years in the Round-room, and from this city was the defendant sent but just now as ambassador. None of these things did he consider; no care he took that the commonwealth should sail steadily, but overturned and sank her, and did his utmost to throw her into the power of her enemies. Are not you then a sophist, and a vile one

too? Are not you a speech-writer, ay, and one hated by the gods? you that passed over what you had often played and knew perfectly by heart, while what you never acted in your life you searched out and quoted to injure one of your fellow-citizens?

Come, consider now his remarks about Solon. He said there was a statue of Solon, exemplifying the decorous style of the orators of that day, with his hand folded inside the mantle; this by way of reproach and rebuke to the forwardness of Timarchus. But the Salaminians say the statue has not been erected fifty years, and it is nearly two hundred and forty years from Solon to the present time, so that the artist who shaped that figure was not only himself no contemporary of Solon, but his grandfather was not either. However, he said this to the jury, and gave an imitation: but what was of far greater advantage to the state than Solon's attitude, to see (namely) his heart and mind—of them he gave no imitation, quite the contrary.

Solon (after Salamis had revolted from the Athenians, and they had decreed to punish with death whoever advised its recovery), at the risk of his own life composed and sang an elegy, and preserved that country to Athens, and removed the disgrace which had fallen upon her. Æschines, although the Persian king and all the Greeks had acknowledged Amphipolis to be yours, gave up and sold it, and supported Philocrates, who moved the resolution. Worth his while (was it not?) to mention Solon! And not only here acted he so, but on his arrival there he never uttered the name of the place which he came to negotiate about. And so he himself reported to you; for you must remember his saying—"I too had something

to say about Amphipolis, but I omitted it, to give Demosthenes an opportunity of taking up the subject."—I came forward and said, that he had left nothing for me that he wished to say to Philip; for he would sooner give a part of his blood than a part of his speech to any one. The fact, I apprehend, was—having received money, he could say nothing on the other side of the question to Philip, who had paid him on purpose that he might not restore Amphipolis. Here—take and read these elegiacs of Solon, and let the jury see that Solon abhorred men like the defendant.

Not to speak with the hand folded, Æschines—not that—but to perform your embassage with the hand folded, is needful. You, after extending and holding it open yonder and disgracing your countrymen, talk pompously here, and, having got up and spouted some wretched phrases, imagine you can escape punishment for all these grievous crimes, if you put a cap on your head and walk about and abuse me.

Read, if you please:

THE ELEGIACS OF SOLON

Our city everlastingly shall stand;
So Jupiter and all the gods command:
Athenian Pallas lends her guardian aid,
She of the mighty Father, heavenly Maid.
Yet the fair city breedeth for her bane
A generation covetous and vain,
Ill-minded statesmen, who shall yet be tried
In many sorrows to rebuke their pride;
Insatiable, in riot they devour
The fleeting pleasures of the festal hour,
Indulge their lustful appetence of gain,
And sparing neither sacred nor profane,
By spoil and rapine thrive, nor hold in awe
Omniscient Themis and her holy law,

Who sits in watchful silence, and the day
Of vengeance bides, more dreadful for delay.
Thus on a people creeps the dire disease,
Till perish all their ancient liberties:
Or civil strife or warfare is at hand,
To waste the youthful promise of the land.
A factious race the sword shall overthrow;
Who wrong their friends are pillaged by the foe.
Over the country these misfortunes brood:
The poor meanwhile, a hapless multitude,
Are dragg'd to foreign shores and long exile,
To slavery sold, and bound in fetters vile.
The common Pest of all comes home to each;
No door can guard him from the Fury's reach;
She leaps the lofty wall; hide where he will,
In cell or chamber, she shall find him still.
Fain am I thus, Athenians, to advise,
What evils under Anarchy arise,
How Discipline the public weal maintains,
Curbs wicked men with penance and with chains;
How she can tame the wild, the proud put low,
And wither mischief ere to strength it grow;
How straighten crooked justice, and assuage
The might of passion and unruly rage:
Under her sway confusion, discord cease,
And men abide in fellowship and peace.

You hear, O Athenians, what Solon declares of such men, and of the gods who (he says) protect the commonwealth. For myself, I believe as I hope, that his statement is eternally true; that the gods do indeed protect our commonwealth: and in some sort I believe, that all which has taken place upon this audit has been a manifestation to the commonwealth of divine benevolence. Only see:—A man who has grossly violated his duty as ambassador, who has given up places in which the gods had ought to be worshipped by you and your allies, disfranchised an accuser who obeyed his challenge. To what end? That he may obtain neither pity nor pardon for

his own offences. Further, in accusing that person he chose to speak ill of me, and again before the people he threatened to prefer indictments and the like. For what purpose? That when I accuse him, who thoroughly know his villanies and have closely watched them all, I may be received by you with the utmost indulgence. Furthermore, by pushing off his trial during all the former period he has been led on to a crisis, at which, out of regard to future consequences, if to nothing else, it is neither safe nor possible for you to let him escape punishment for his bribery. You ought indeed, O Athenians, at all times to execrate and to punish men guilty of corruption and treason; but now it will be most especially seasonable and for the common benefit of all mankind. For a plague, O Athenians, has fallen upon Greece, a grievous and severe one, that requires some extraordinary good fortune and carefulness on your part. The notables intrusted with the administration of state affairs are betraying their own liberty, unhappy men, and bringing upon themselves a voluntary servitude, which they call friendship and intimacy and connection with Philip, and other flattering names: the rest of the people and the authorities (whatever they are) in the several states, who ought to punish those men and put them instantly to death, so far from doing anything of the kind, admire and envy them, and would like every one to be in their places.

This sort of thing, this kind of ambition, men of Athens, until but the other day had destroyed the sovereignty and national dignity of the Thessalians, and is at this moment stealing away their liberty; for the citadels of some of them are garrisoned by Macedonians. It has entered Peloponnesus, and caused the massacres in Elis;

and with such frenzy and madness did it inspire those wretched people, that, to get dominion over each other and gratify Philip, they would spill the blood of their kindred and fellow-countrymen. And it stops not even here. It entered into Arcadia, and has turned everything there upside down; and now many of the Arcadians (who ought like yourselves to be eminently proud of freedom, for the only indigenous people are you and they) hold Philip in admiration, and set him up in brass, and crown him; and to complete all, should he visit Peloponnesus, they have passed resolutions to receive him in their cities. The Argives have done the same. By Ceres, if one must speak in earnest, these matters require no little precaution; as the plague, advancing in a circle, has entered, men of Athens, even here. While then you are yet in safety, be on your guard, and punish with infamy the persons who first introduced it; or else, see that my words be not deemed to have been wisely spoken, when you have no longer any resource.

See you not, O men of Athens, how notable and striking an example the poor Olynthians are; who owe their destruction, unhappy men, to nothing so much as to conduct of this kind? You may discover it plainly by what has befallen them. When they had only four hundred horse, and were not more than five thousand altogether in number, the Chalcidians not yet being all united, although the Lacedæmonians attacked them with a considerable army and fleet—for of course you know that the Lacedæmonians had the command (so to speak) both of sea and land at that period—notwithstanding the attack of so mighty a force, they lost neither their city nor a single fortress, but even won many battles, and killed three of the enemy's

generals, and at last put an end to the war upon their own terms.

But when certain men had begun to receive bribes, and the multitude, through stupidity or through ill fortune rather, regarded them as more trustworthy than their honest counsellors, when Lasthenes roofed his house with timber given from Macedonia, and Euthycrates fed herds of kine without paying a price to any one, and one man came with sheep, another with horses, and the mass of the people, against whom these treasons were committed, instead of being incensed or calling for punishment of the traitors, looked on them with respect and admiration, honored and esteemed them for manliness—when things proceeded thus far and corruption got the ascendency, although they possessed a thousand horse and were more than ten thousand in number, and you sent to their assistance ten thousand mercenaries and fifty galleys and four thousand citizens besides, all of it could not save them; before a year of the war had expired, the betrayers had lost all the cities in Chalcidice; Philip could no longer be at the call of the betrayers, and was puzzled what he should first take possession of. Five hundred horse, betrayed by their own leaders, did Philip capture with all their arms, such a number as no mortal ever did before. And the perpetrators of all this were not ashamed to look at the sun, or at the earth (their country) on which they stood, or at her temples or sepulchres, or at the infamy that upon such doings was sure to follow. So mad and senseless, O Athenians, are people rendered by the taking of bribes! You therefore, you the people, must be wise, and not permit such practices, but punish them by public sentence. It would indeed be monstrous if, having passed so many

severe resolutions against the betrayers of Olynthus, you should fail to punish criminals in your own country. Read me the decree concerning the Olynthians.

[*The decree*]

These resolutions, men of the jury, you have in the opinion of all people, whether Greek or barbarian, righteously and nobly passed against traitors and miscreants. Since, therefore, the acceptance of bribes precedes such practices, and it is on that account that people are found to commit such acts, whomsoever you see accepting bribes, men of Athens, look upon him as a traitor. If one person betrays opportunities, another measures, another troops, each of you, I take it, ruins that of which he has the management: but all persons of this kind ought equally to be detested. You, O Athenians, are the only people in the world who upon such matters may take examples from home, and imitate in action the forefathers whom you justly praise.

Though the battles, the campaigns, the adventures, by which they were renowned, there is no occasion for imitating, since for the present you are at peace, imitate at least their wisdom. This there is always need for, and a wise judgment is not a whit more troublesome or irksome than a foolish one: each of you will sit here for as long a time, whether by a right decision and verdict upon the case he improves the condition of the commonwealth and acts worthily of your forefathers, or by an improper decision he damages the public interests and acts unworthily of your forefathers. What then was their judgment upon such a case? Take and read this inscription, clerk. You ought to know, that the acts which you re-

gard with apathy are such as your ancestors have passed capital sentence upon. Read.

[*The inscription*]

You hear, men of Athens, the inscription declaring Arthmius, the son of Pythonax of Zelea, to be an enemy and a foe to the people of Athens and their allies, himself and all his race. On what account? Because he brought the gold of the barbarians among the Greeks. You may see then, as it appears from this, that your forefathers were anxious to prevent even strangers being hired to injure Greece; while you make no provision even to prevent your fellow-citizens doing wrong to the state.

Oh, but this inscription stands in some ordinary place! No. While the whole of yonder citadel is sacred and of considerable extent, it stands on the right by the great bronze statue of Pallas, which the republic offered up as the chief memorial of their war with the barbarians, the Greeks having given the money. At that time then justice was so revered, so honorable was it to punish people who did such things, that the same station was appropriated to the prize-offering of the goddess and the sentence against offenders of that kind: now all is mockery, impunity, disgrace, unless you repress these extravagant liberties to-day.

I think therefore, ye men of Athens, you will do right to imitate your ancestors, not in one point only, but in the whole series of their conduct. They—I am sure you have all heard the story—after Callias the son of Hipponicus had negotiated that peace which is in the mouths of all men, providing that the king should not approach within a day's ride of the sea-coast, nor sail with a vessel of war within the Chelidonian islands and Cyanean rocks, because it ap-

peared that he had taken gifts on his embassy, they fined him fifty talents at his audit, and were near putting him to death. Yet no man can say that the commonwealth has ever made a better peace either before or after: but it was not that they looked at. For that they considered was owing to their own valor and the reputation of the commonwealth; while the taking or not taking of money depended on the disposition of the ambassador; they expected therefore of any man who entered on public duties, that he should show a disposition for honesty and integrity. Your ancestors thus considered bribe-taking so inimical and injurious to the state, that they would not suffer it upon any occasion or in any person; but you, O Athenians, though you have seen that the same peace has demolished the walls of your allies and is building the houses of your ambassadors, that it has taken away the possessions of the commonwealth and has earned for these men what they never imagined even in a dream, have not spontaneously put these men to death, but require an accuser, and hear on their trial persons whose crimes are actually beheld by all.

But one need not confine one's self to ancient events, nor by such examples incite you to vengeance, for in the time of you that are here present and still living many have been brought to justice; the rest of whom I will pass by, and mention only one or two, sentenced to death upon an embassy which has wrought far less mischief to the state than this. Take and read me this decree.

[*The decree*]

According to this decree, men of Athens, you condemned to death those ambassadors, of whom one was

Epicrates, a man (as I hear from my elders) of good character, who was on many occasions serviceable to the state, one of those that marched from Piræus and restored the democracy, and generally a friend to the people. However, none of these things helped him; and justly: for one who undertakes to manage such important concerns should not be honest by halves, nor take advantage of your confidence to do greater mischief, but should never do you any wrong at all wilfully.

Well: if these men have left undone any part of what those have been sentenced to death for, kill me this very moment. Just see. "Since those men," it says, "acted contrary to their instructions on the embassy": and this is the first of the charges. And did not these act contrary to their instructions? Did not the decree say, "for the Athenians and allies of the Athenians," and did not these men exclude the Phocians expressly from the treaty? Did not the decree order them to swear the magistrates in the states, and did not they swear the persons whom Philip sent to them? Did not the decree say that they should nowhere meet Philip alone, and did not they incessantly hold private conferences with him? "And some of them were convicted of making false reports in the council"—ay, and these men before the people, too, and by what evidence?—for this is the grand point—By the facts themselves: for surely the very reverse of what they reported has taken place. "And sending false intelligence by letter," it says. So have these men. "And calumniating the allies and taking bribes."—Well instead of calumniating, say, having completely ruined: and this surely is far more dreadful than calumniating. With respect to the having taken bribes, I can only say, if they denied it,

proof would have been necessary; since they confess it, they should have been led off to punishment surely.

How say ye then, O Athenians? Under these circumstances, you being the descendants of those men, yourselves being some of them still living, will you endure that Epicrates, the benefactor of the people and the liberator from Piræus, should be degraded and punished?—that again lately Thrasybulus, the son of Thrasybulus the people's friend, who marched from Phyle and restored the democracy, should have incurred a penalty of ten talents?—and that the descendant of Harmodius and Aristogiton and men who have conferred on you the greatest benefits, whom, on account of their meritorious services, you have by law adopted to be partakers of the cup and libations in all your temples at the sacrifices, whom you celebrate and honor equally with your heroes and gods, should all have suffered punishment according to law; and that neither mercy nor pity, neither weeping children named after your benefactors, nor anything else, should have helped them?—and shall the son of Atrometus the pedagogue and Glaucothea (the assembler of Bacchanals for performances which another priestess has died for), shall he, when you have caught him, be let off, he, the issue of such parents, he that in no single instance has been useful to the state, neither himself nor his father, nor any other of his family? For what horse, what galley, what expedition, what chorus, what state service, what contribution, what present, what feat of valor, what thing of the kind has at any time come from these men to the republic? Even though he possessed all these merits, without the addition that he has been an honest and incorrupt ambassador, he ought assuredly to suffer death.

But if he has neither the one nor the other, will you not avenge yourselves on him? Will you not remember what he said on his accusation of Timarchus, that there was no good in a commonwealth which had not sinews to stretch against malefactors, or in a government where mercy and canvassing had greater power than the laws; and that you ought to have no pity either for the mother of Timarchus, an old woman, or for his children, or any one else, but consider this, that, should you abandon the laws and the constitution, you would find none to have pity on yourselves. And shall that unhappy man remain in infamy, because he saw the defendant to be a criminal, and will you allow the defendant to go unscathed? For what reason? If Æschines thought fit to demand such heavy satisfaction from trespassers against him and his party, what should you, sworn judges, demand from such heinous trespassers against the state, of whom the defendant is proved to be one? Oh, but our young men will be all the better for that trial! Well; and this will improve our statesmen, on whom the most important chances of the commonwealth depend. They also need your attention.

To convince you, however, that he destroyed this man Timarchus, not (good heavens!) out of any desire to make your children virtuous (for they are virtuous already, O Athenians: never may such misfortune befall the commonwealth that her younger members should need Aphobetus and Æschines to reform them!), but because he moved in the council that whoever should be convicted of carrying arms or naval implements to Philip should be punishable with death. To prove this, let me ask—how long was Timarchus a public speaker? A considerable time. Well: during all that time Æschines was in

the city, and never took umbrage, or thought it a shocking matter that such a person should open his mouth, until he went to Macedonia and became a hireling. Here, take and read me the decree of Timarchus itself:

[*The decree*]

You see, the person who proposed on your behalf that no one, on pain of death, should carry arms to Philip in time of war, has been ruined and disgraced; and this man, who delivered up to Philip the arms of your allies, was his accuser, and declaimed upon prostitution (O heaven and earth!), while by him were standing his two brothers-in-law, at the sight of whom you would cry out with astonishment, the odious Nicias, who hired himself to Chabrias to go to Egypt, and the accursed Cyrebion, who plays his part in the procession revels without his mask. But this is nothing—he did it with his brother Aphobetus before him! Verily, upon that day all the haranguing about prostitution was a flowing up the stream.

To show you what dishonor our commonwealth has been brought to by this man's wickedness and falsehood, I will pass by everything else, and mention a thing which you all know. Formerly, men of Athens, what you had decreed was looked for by the people of Greece; now we go about inquiring what the others have resolved, listening what news there is of the Arcadians, what of the Amphictyons, where Philip is about to march, whether he is alive or dead. Is it not thus we employ ourselves? I, for my part, am afraid, not if Philip is alive, but if the abhorring and punishing of criminals is dead in the commonwealth. Philip alarms me not, if all is sound with you; but if you allow impunity to men who

are willing to be his hirelings, if certain of the people in your confidence will plead for these men, and, after denying all along that they are Philip's agents, will get up for them now—this alarms me. How comes it, Eubulus, that on the trial of Hegesilaus, who is your cousin, and on that of Thrasybulus lately, the uncle of Niceratus, on the first voting you would not even hearken to their call, and on the question of punishment you got up, yet never spoke a word on their behalf, but begged the jury to excuse you? And do you refuse then to get up for relatives and connections, but will stand up for Æschines, who, when Aristophon was prosecuting Philonicus and through him assailing your conduct, joined him in accusing you, and appeared as one of your enemies? And when you, having terrified the Athenians, and told them they must immediately go down to Piræus and pay a property tax and make the theatric fund a military one, or vote for the measures which this man supported and the odious Philocrates moved, it came about that the peace was made on disgraceful instead of honorable terms, and these men, by their subsequent misdeeds, have ruined everything—then is it that you are reconciled? And before the people you cursed Philip, and swore with imprecations on your children that you would like him to be destroyed, and now will you help the defendant? How can he be destroyed when you come to the rescue of those who take his bribes? Yes! How on earth could you prosecute Mœrocles, because he got the mine-tenants to give him twenty drachms each—and indict Cephisophon for embezzlement of sacred moneys, because three days after the time he paid seven minas into the bank; while persons who have received money, who confess it, who are caught in the fact, and proved to have

done it on purpose to ruin your allies, these, instead of bringing to trial, you desire us to acquit? That the charges in this case are fearful, and require a deal of prudence and precaution, whereas what you prosecuted those men for were laughing matters, will appear from the following considerations:—There were persons in Elis who plundered the public? Very probably. Well: were any of those persons concerned in overthrowing the democracy there lately? Not one. Again: while Olynthus existed, there were persons of the same kind? I should think so. Did Olynthus fall through them? No. At Megara, again, think ye not there was a thief or two who pilfered the public moneys? Undoubtedly; and it has come to light. Which of them caused the events which have occurred there? Not one. What sort of people, then, are they who commit these heavy crimes? The men who deem themselves of importance enough to be called friends and acquaintances of Philip—men who covet command and are invested with civic dignity, and who consider they ought to be greater than the common people. Was not Perilaus tried lately at Megara before the Three Hundred because he had gone to Philip; and did not Ptœodorus, a man of wealth, birth, and reputation the first of the Megarians, come forward and beg him off, and again send him out to Philip; and afterward the one came with his mercenary troops, while the other was cooking up matters in the city? That is one example. There is nothing, nothing in the world more to be guarded against than allowing any one to be exalted above the people. Don't let me have men saved or destroyed at the pleasure of this or that individual; but whoever is saved by his actions, or the contrary, let him be entitled to the proper verdict at

your hands. That is constitutional. Besides, many men have on occasions become powerful with you: Callistratus, again, Aristophon, Diophantus, others before them: but where did they each exercise their sway? In the popular assembly. In courts of justice no man up to the present day has ever had an authority greater than yourselves or the laws or your oaths. Then don't suffer this man to have it now. To show you that it will be more reasonable to take such precaution than to put confidence in these men, I will read you an oracle of the gods, who always protect the commonwealth far better than her statesmen. Read the verses:

[*The oracle*]

You hear, O Athenians, what the gods admonish you. If now they have given you this response during a time of war, they mean that you should beware of your generals; for the generals are conductors of war: but if after the conclusion of peace, they mean your chief statesmen; for they have the lead, their counsels you follow, by them are you in danger of being deceived.

And you are told by the oracle to hold the commonwealth together, so that all may have one mind, and not cause gratification to the enemy. Think ye now, O Athenians, that the preserving, or the punishing of a man who has done all this mischief would cause gratification to Philip? I think the preserving. The oracle, however, says you should do your best to prevent the enemy rejoicing. So it exhorts all with one mind to punish those who have in any way been subservient to the enemy: Jupiter, Dione, all the gods. They that intend you evil are outside, their supporters are inside; the business of the

former is to give bribes, of the latter to receive, and get off those who have received them.

Besides, even by human reasoning one may see that the most mischievous and dangerous of all things is to suffer a leading statesman to become attached to those who have not the same objects with the people. Consider by what means Philip has become master of everything, and by what means he has achieved the greatest of his works. By purchasing success from those who would sell it; by corrupting and exciting the ambition of leading statesmen: by such means. Both these, however, it is in your power, if you please, to render ineffective to-day: if to one class of men you will not listen, when they plead for people of this kind, but show that they have no authority with you (for now they say they have authority): and if you will punish him that has sold himself, and this shall be seen by all.

With any man you might well be wroth, O Athenians, who had done such deeds, and sacrificed allies and friends and opportunities, which make or mar the fortunes of every people, but with none more strongly or more justly than the defendant. A man who took his place with the mistrusters of Philip—who first and singly discovered him to be the common enemy of all the Greeks, and then deserted and turned traitor, and has suddenly become a supporter of Philip—can it be doubted that such a man deserves a thousand deaths? The truth of these statements he himself will not be able to gainsay. Who is it that brought Ischander to you in the beginning, whom he represented to have come here from the country's friends in Arcadia? Who cried out that Philip was packing Greece and Peloponnesus while you were sleeping? Who was it that made those fine long orations before the assembly, and read the decrees of Miltiades

and Themistocles, and the young men's oath in the temple of Aglauros? Was it not this man? Who persuaded you to send embassies almost to the Red Sea, urging that Greece was plotted against by Philip, and that it became you to foresee it and not abandon the interests of the Greeks? Was not the mover of the decree Eubulus, and the envoy to Peloponnesus the defendant, Æschines? What he may have talked and harangued about when he got there, is best known to himself; but what he reported to you I am sure you all remember. Several times in his speech he called Philip a barbarian and a pest, and told you the Arcadians were delighted that the Athenian commonwealth was now attending to her affairs and rousing herself. But what most of all had made him indignant, he said—coming home he met Atrestidas on his way from Philip's court, and there were about thirty women and children walking with him; and he was astonished, and asked one of the travellers who the man was, and who the crowd that followed him; but when he heard that these were Olynthian captives, whom Atrestidas was bringing away as a present from Philip, he thought it shocking, and wept, and bewailed the miserable condition of Greece that she should regard such calamitous events with indifference. And he advised you to send persons to Arcadia to denounce the agents of Philip; for he heard, he said, from his friends, that if the commonwealth would turn their attention to it and send an embassy they would be punished. Such was then his language, honorable, indeed, O Athenians, and worthy of the state. But after he had gone to Macedonia, and beheld this Philip, the enemy of himself and the Greeks, was it like or similar? Very far from it. He said you were not to remember your ancestors, not to

talk of trophies or succor any one; and he was surprised at the men who advised you to consult with the Greeks about peace with Philip, as if any one else had to be persuaded on a question that concerned you alone; and that Philip himself was (O Hercules!) a thorough Greek, an eloquent speaker, a warm friend of Athens, and that there were some men in the city so unreasonable and perverse as not to be ashamed of abusing him and calling him a barbarian.

Is it possible that the same man, after having made the former speeches, could have ventured to make these, without having been corrupted? But further; is there a man who, after having then execrated Atrestidas on account of the women and children of the Olynthians, could have endured now to co-operate with Philocrates, who brought free-born Olynthian women hither for dishonor, and is so notorious for his abominable life that I have no need to say anything scandalous or offensive about him, but let me only say that Philocrates brought women, you and the bystanders know all the rest, and feel pity, I am sure, for those poor unhappy creatures, whom Æschines pitied not, nor wept for Greece on their account, that among an allied people they should be outraged by the ambassadors.

But he will shed tears for himself, such an ambassador as he has been: perhaps he will bring forward his children and mount them up on the bar. But remember, ye men of the jury—against his children—that you had many friends and allies, whose children are wanderers, roaming about in beggary, having suffered cruel injuries through this man; who are far more deserving of your compassion than the sons of such a malefactor and traitor; and that these men, by adding to the treaty the words "and to his

posterity," have deprived your children even of their hopes. Against his own tears harden yourselves by reflecting that you have in your power a man who bade you send accusers into Arcadia against the agents of Philip. Now, then, you need not send an embassy to Peloponnesus, or go a long journey, or incur travelling expenses, but only advance each of you up to the bar here, and give your righteous and just verdict for your country against a man, who (O heaven and earth!), after having declaimed, as I told you in the outset, about Marathon, Salamis, battles, and trophies, all of a sudden, when he had set foot in Macedonia, used the very opposite language—that you should not remember your ancestors, not talk of trophies, not succor any one, not deliberate in conjunction with the Greeks, but should almost dismantle your city walls. Surely more disgraceful language has never at any period of time been spoken among you. For what Greek or barbarian is there so stupid, so uninformed, so bitter an enemy of our state, who, if the question were asked—"Tell me, of this present land and country of Greece is there a part which would have had the name, or been occupied by the Greeks who now possess it, if the heroes of Marathon and Salamis, our ancestors, had not enacted those feats of valor on their behalf?"—there is not one, I am certain, who would not answer, "No; it must all have been taken by the barbarians!" Persons that even an enemy would not rob of their praise and honor, are you, their descendants, I say, forbidden to remember by Æschines, for the sake of his own pelf? And observe, other advantages are not shared in by the dead, but praise for glorious actions is the peculiar property of those who have died in achieving it; for then even envy opposes them no longer; and the defendant, for de-

priving them of this, deserves now to be deprived of his rank, and you will do well to inflict this punishment upon him on behalf of your ancestors. But by such language, you miscreant, while of the deeds of our ancestors you made spoil and havoc with your tongue, you ruined all our affairs. And out of all this you are a landowner and become a considerable personage. For here again: Before he had wronged the state so grievously, he acknowledged that he had been a clerk and was under obligation to you for electing him, and he behaved himself with decency; but since he has wrought such infinite mischief, he has drawn up his eyebrows, and if any one says, "the ex-clerk, Æschines," he is at once his enemy, and says he has been slandered; and he traverses the market with his robe down to his ankles, walking as stately as Pythocles, puffing out his cheeks, one of the friends and acquaintances of Philip for you—that's what he is now—one of those that would be rid of the people, and regard the present establishment as a raging sea: he that formerly worshipped the dining-hall!

Let me now recapitulate to you in what manner Philip outmanœuvred you by getting these abominable men to assist him. It is well worth your while to examine and look into the whole artifice. At first when he wanted peace, his dominions being pillaged by corsairs, and his ports having been closed so that he could enjoy none of their advantages, he sent those men who made such friendly declarations in his name, Neoptolemus, Aristodemus, Ctesiphon; but after we ambassadors had been with him, he engaged the defendant's services directly, to second and support the beastly Philocrates, and to overpower us whose intentions were honest; and he composed a letter

to you, through which he mainly expected to obtain peace. Yet even this did not enable him to do anything important against you without destroying the Phocians; and that was not easy; for his affairs had been brought as it were by accident to such a critical point that either it was impossible for him to accomplish any of his objects, or he must commit falsehood and perjury, and have all men, Greeks and barbarians, witnesses of his baseness. For should he accept the Phocians as allies, and take the oaths to them in conjunction with you, it became necessary at once to break his oaths to the Thessalians and Thebans, the latter of whom he had sworn to assist in subjugating Bœotia, the former in restoring the Pylæan congress. Should he refuse to accept them (as, in fact, he did refuse) he thought you would not suffer him to pass, but would send forces to Thermopylæ, as, but for being overreached, you would have done, and in that case he reckoned it would be impossible to pass. This, indeed, there was no need for him to be informed by others; he had his own testimony to the fact: for the first time when he vanquished the Phocians, and overthrew their mercenary troops and their chieftain and general, Onomarchus, when no people in the world, Greek or barbarian, succored the Phocians but you, so far from passing the strait or accomplishing any of his objects by the passage, he could not even approach it. He was certain, therefore, I take it, that now when Thessaly was quarrelling with him—the Pheræans, for example, refused to join his march—when the Thebans were getting the worst and had lost a battle, and a trophy had been erected over them, it was impossible to pass, if you sent forces, or to attempt it with impunity, unless he had recourse to some artifice. "How,

then, shall I escape open falsehood, and effect all my objects without the imputation of perjury? How? In this way—if I can find some Athenian citizens to deceive the Athenians; for that disgrace will not devolve upon me." Therefore his ambassadors gave you notice that Philip would not accept the Phocians for allies; but these men explained it to the people thus—that it was not proper for Philip openly to accept the Phocians for allies, on account of the Thebans and Thessalians; but if he got things into his hands and obtained the peace, he would then do exactly what we should now desire him to agree to. By such promises and lures he obtained peace from you, excluding the Phocians; but he had next to prevent your sending succor to Thermopylæ, for the chance of which even then your fifty galleys were lying at anchor, so that, if Philip advanced, you might oppose him. "Well? what contrivance shall I have again about this?" To deprive you of your opportunities, and bring matters suddenly upon you, so that, even if you wished, you should not be able to march from home. It was managed by these men accordingly, it appears. I, as you have heard several times, was unable to depart earlier, and though I hired a vessel, I was prevented from setting sail. But it was necessary also that the Phocians should put confidence in Philip, and voluntarily surrender themselves, so that no delay might intervene, and no hostile decree come from you. "Well, then; it shall be reported by the Athenian ambassadors that the Phocians are to be saved, so that even those who mistrust me will deliver themselves up, relying on the ambassadors: the Athenians themselves I will send for, that they, believing all their objects to be secured, may pass no adverse vote; and these men shall

carry such reports and assurances from me that under no circumstances will they be induced to stir."

In this manner and by such contrivances, through men doomed themselves to destruction, was everything brought to ruin; for immediately, instead of seeing Thespiæ and Platæa re-established, you heard that Orchomenus and Coronea were enslaved; instead of Thebes being humbled and her pride and insolence abated, the fortifications of your allies the Phocians were being razed to the ground, the persons razing them were the Thebans, who by Æschines in his speech had been scattered into villages. Instead of Eubœa being given to you as a compensation for Amphipolis, Philip is even establishing places in Eubœa to attack you from, and is continually forming designs upon Geræstus and Megara. Instead of Oropus being restored to us, we are marching out with arms to fight for Drymus and the country by Panactus, which we never did while the Phocians were in safety. Instead of the ancient rites in the temple being restored, and his treasures being recovered for the god, the genuine Amphictyons are exiled and expelled, and their country has been laid desolate; they that never were Amphictyons in the olden time, Macedonians and barbarians, are now thrusting themselves into the council; whoever makes mention of the holy treasures is thrown down the precipice, and Athens has been deprived of her preaudience at Delphi. The whole business has been a sort of enigma to the state. Philip has been disappointed in nothing, and has accomplished every one of his purposes; you, after expecting all that you could wish, have seen the reverse come to pass, and, while you appear to be at peace, have suffered greater calamities than if you were at war; and these men have

their wages for it, and up to the present day have not been brought to justice.

That they have been bribed outright for all this, and have received the price of it, has in many ways, I imagine, been apparent to you for some time; and I fear I am doing the reverse of what I intend—I have been annoying you all this time in striving to make out a complete demonstration of what you knew yourselves. However, do let me add one thing more: Is there any of the ambassadors sent by Philip to whom you, men of the jury, would erect a brazen statue in the market-place? Nay: would you give dinner in the city hall, or any other of those rewards which you honor your benefactors with? I should think not. Why? You are certainly neither ungrateful nor unjust nor bad men. It is, you would say, and with truth and justice, because they did everything for Philip and not a thing for you. Think ye then that your sentiments are such, and Philip's are different—that he confers upon these men presents of such number and value, because on their embassy they acted well and faithfully for you? Impossible. You see how he received Hegesippus and his co-ambassadors. I pass by the rest; but he banished our poet, Xenoclides, for entertaining them, his fellow-countrymen. Such is the way he behaves to those who honestly speak their opinions on your behalf, while to those who have sold themselves he behaves as he does to these men. Are witnesses required for this? Are any stronger proofs wanted for this? Can any one get this away from you?

A person however came up to me just before the opening of the court, and told me the strangest thing—that he was prepared to accuse Chares, and expected, by taking

that course and talking in that style, to impose on you. Now I will not strongly insist upon this fact, that Chares (howsoever brought to trial) has been found to have acted faithfully and loyally, as far as lay in his power, for your interests, though he has incurred many failures through persons who from corrupt motives ruin everything; but I will make a large concession. Let me grant that the defendant will speak nothing about him but the truth: even then, I say, it is a perfect mockery for the defendant to accuse him; for I charge not Æschines with any of the transactions in the war (for them the generals are accountable), nor with the state's having concluded peace: but thus far I acquit him entirely. What then do I say, and from what do my charges take their rise? From his speaking, when the state was concluding peace, on the side of Philocrates, and not on theirs who moved for the good of the country; and from his having taken bribes; from his afterward on the second embassy wasting the times, and performing none of your instructions; from his tricking the state, and, after giving us to expect that Philip would do all we desired, having utterly ruined our affairs; from his afterward, when others warned you to beware of a man who had done so many wrongs, appearing as that man's advocate. These are my charges; keep these in remembrance: for a just and equitable peace, and men who had betrayed nothing and not afterward told lies, I would even have commended, and advised you to honor them with a crown. But if any general has injured you, it has nothing to do with the present inquiry. For what general has lost Halus, or who has destroyed the Phocians? who Doriscus? who Cersobleptes? who the Sacred Mountain? who Thermopylæ? who has given to Philip a road all the

way to Attica through the territory of friends and allies? who has alienated Coronea, Orchomenus, Eubœa? who nearly Megara lately? who has made the Thebans powerful? Of all these important matters none was lost through the generals; none has Philip had yielded to him at the peace with your consent: they have been lost through these men and their venality. If therefore he shirks these points, if, to lead you astray, he will talk of anything sooner than them: meet him as I suggest—"We are not sitting in judgment upon a general; you are not tried upon those charges. Don't tell us who else has caused the destruction of the Phocians, but show that you are not the cause. Why, if Demosthenes did any wrong, do you mention it now, but did not accuse him when he rendered his account? For this very reason you have deserved to perish. Don't tell us that peace is a fine thing or an advantageous thing, for no one charges you with the state's having concluded peace; but that the peace is not a shameful and ignominious one—that we have not been cheated in many ways and all was not lost after it—this you may tell us. For all these consequences are proved to have been brought upon us by you; and how is it that up to this very day you praise the author of such things?" If you keep watch upon him thus, he will have nothing to say, but will raise his voice here and have exercised himself in spouting all to no purpose.

About his voice too it may be necessary to say something; for I hear that upon this also he very confidently relies, as if he can overpower you by his acting. I think, however, you would be committing a gross absurdity, if, when he played the miseries of Thyestes and the men at Troy, you drove and hissed him off the boards, and nearly

stoned him to death, so that at last he desisted from his playing of third-rate parts, yet now that, not upon the stage, but in public and most important affairs of state, he has wrought infinity of evil, you should pay regard to him as a fine speaker. Heaven forbid! Do not you be guilty of any folly, but consider: if you are making trial of a herald, you should see that he has a good voice, but if of an ambassador and undertaker of public duties, that he is honest, that he demeans himself with spirit as your representative, like a fellow-citizen toward you; as I (for example) had no respect for Philip, but respected the prisoners, delivered them, and never flinched; whereas the defendant crouched before him, and sang the pæans, but you he disregarded. Further, when you see eloquence or a fine voice or any other such accomplishment in a man of probity and honorable ambition, you should all rejoice at it and encourage its display; for it is a common advantage to you all: but when you see the like in a corrupt and base man, who yields to every temptation of gain, you should discourage and hear him with enmity and aversion; as knavery, getting from you the reputation of power, is an engine against the state. You see what mighty troubles have fallen upon the state from what the defendant has got renown by. And other powers are tolerably independent; but that of speaking is crippled, if you the hearers are unfavorable. Listen then to this man as to a venal knave, who will not speak a syllable of truth.

Observe now, that not only in other respects, but in relation to your dealings with Philip, it is in every way expedient for the defendant to be convicted. For, on the one hand, should he ever arrive at the necessity of doing justice to Athens, he will alter his plan; now he has deter-

mined to cheat the many and court the few, but if he hear that these men are destroyed he will choose hereafter to serve you the many and masters of all. On the other hand, should he continue in the same position of power and pride, the persons who are ready to do anything for him you will have removed from the country, if you remove these. How think ye?—men that acted so, believing they should be called to account—what will they do if they have your license for their acts? What Euthycrates, what Lasthenes, what traitor will they not surpass? And which of all the rest will not be a worse member of the common wealth, seeing that those who have sold your interests obtain riches, credit, a capital in Philip's friendship, while those who behave themselves like honest men and have spent money of their own get annoyance, enmity, ill-will from a certain class of people? Never let it come to this! Neither for your honor, nor for your religion, nor for your safety, nor in any other point of view, is it desirable to acquit the defendant. You must avenge yourselves, and make him an example to all, both to your fellow-citizens and to the rest of the Greeks.

END OF VOLUME ONE.